# Few other Presidents have had such an opportunity

THE WHOLE WIDE WORLD is waiting for an American President who will bring our country into stride with the genuine and long-suppressed aspirations of people everywhere for a peaceful and better life. This is the American image the world's peoples want to see and believe in, the only posture that does credit to our own revolutionary origin: that of the abundant nation which will freely share its science and wealth with the underdeveloped world with no strings attached and no unreasonable demands in return.

Yet nobody who is anybody believes this can be; everybody who can read a newspaper or understand a radio bulletin regards the U.S.—under this Administration as under the two previous presidencies since 1945—as the frank proponent of the reactionary status quo in every part of the world, determined to "stop and reverse" what the **Wall Street Journal** and the rest of our press dutifully call "Red advances" (when they really mean any challenge to colonialism and exploitation).

The London **Observer** noted with interest President Kennedy's recent avowal of his intention to assume anew for our nation the place in the "vanguard of liberty" from which we have "allowed the Communists to evict us." We will reclaim, the President said, "our rightful estate at the head of the world-wide revolution."

"The trouble with this picture," the **Observer** observed, "is that it is quite unrecognizable to anyone outside the U.S. To the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the U.S. is not a revolutionary power but—although Americans can never believe this—the greatest and most powerful fulfillment of Western imperialism."

Nevertheless, the **Observer** hopes that it can be the basis of a new Kennedy policy at least "to welcome and support nationalist movements that wish also to be neutral," but finds it "impossible to reconcile this with intervention in every little country that seems to be flirting with Communism, or with his massive restatement of the Monroe Doctrine in Latin America."

So it goes in the press of the only major ally we can call our own. The London **New Statesman** adds up the score and concludes that "America's attempt to export her formula of free-enterprise democracy has met with almost unrelieved failure," and sees new failures ahead,

*(Continued on Page 2)*

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
15 cents
the progressive newsweekly
VOL. 13, NO. 35 NEW YORK, JUNE 12, 1961

POLITICAL DISSENT A 'CRIME'

# Supreme Court curb on CP hard setback for civil liberties

By Lawrence Emery

THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT of 1950 requiring registration of "Communist-action" organizations and a clause of the Smith Act of 1940 penalizing membership in the Communist Party were upheld June 5 by the Supreme Court by 5 to 4 majorities.

In a dissent in one of the cases, Justice William O. Douglas wrote: "What we lose by majority vote today may be reclaimed at a future time when the fear of advocacy, dissent and non-conformity no longer cast a shadow over us."

The Communist Party called the rulings "a crushing blow at democracy and the Constitution" and described the combined effect of them as "the same as declaring the Party illegal and then asking it to submit names for prosecution." The statement said the Party will continue to "fight vigorously for its full legal rights and existence" and warned that the decisions will spur the activities of "all the gathering fascist and anti-labor forces."

**WHAT THE ACT DOES:** Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote the majority opinion in the registration case, and Justice John Marshall Harlan wrote those in the Smith Act membership cases. They were joined by Justices Tom C. Clark, Charles E. Whittaker and Potter Stewart. The minority were Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices Hugo L. Black, William O. Douglas and William J. Brennan Jr.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 requires "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" groups to register if they are found to fit the law's definitions by the Subversive Activities Control Board. Two earlier rulings by the Board that the CP must register were set aside by the Supreme Court on procedural grounds; a 1959 ruling is the one now upheld.

Under it, the CP must supply to the

*(Continued on Page 10)*

**ONCE MORE THE DOOR WAS OPENED TO THE HOPE OF PEACE**
*The world watches and waits for the aftermath of Vienna*

AFTER THE ASSASSINATION OF TRUJILLO

# Dominican Republic stage set for a change

By Joanne Grant

THE DEATH of Dominican Republic dictator Raphael Leonidas Trujillo is still shrouded in mystery at this writing, a week after the assassination. Most American commentators agree that the death of the man who held tight personal control over the tiny Caribbean island has left a "strategic void." But who was responsible for his death and what kind of government will evolve are questions that are still open.

The question most often asked in the U.S. press during the week was: Does Trujillo's death presage a revolution—variously termed Castro-type, extreme left, or Communist style? A good deal was written about the possibility of transition to a democratic government and an immediate "democratization" which could mean re-establishment of diplomatic relations with other nations in the hemisphere—especially the U.S.

**FAMILIAR RING:** Circumstances of the assassination are known only to the extent that official Dominican reports can be believed—and these reports are strangely reminiscent of similar ones released during the dictator's 31-year rule whenever the life of one of his opponents came to a sudden end. News of the assassination was released 18 hours after the event. First reports said that the Generalissimo's car had been ambushed by seven men; later reports told a glorious story of the dictator's fight with his assassins as detailed by his wounded chauffeur. A day later the government announced that the chauffeur had died. Raphael Jr. (Ramfis) who flew home from Paris to take over the army, began a roundup of "those involved in the conspiracy." Reports were that hundreds had been arrested, but Ramfis announced that most had been released and only 60 were being held.

The New York **Herald Tribune**'s David Miller pointed out June 2 that all witnesses to the murder were either dead or missing. He wrote that before the Dominican government announced that Gen. Juan Tomas Diaz (who was alleged to have master-minded the plot) had been killed in a street fight in tha capital, Ciudad Trujillo. Miller's speculations were that the assassination was a palace coup to clear the way for ambitious generals or to open the road to a restoration of diplomatic relations. He quoted U.S. Consul General Henry Dearborn saying: "We've even heard reports the whole thing was staged. I won't put it past them. I'm sure things aren't as tidy as they'd like everyone to believe."

**THE MAIN CONCERN:** While Ramfis took over the reins alongside Trujillo's appointed President Joaquin Balaguer, Max Frankel in the **Times** June 4 said: "The uncertainty of the future was almost everywhere of greater concern than the dramatic resolution of the past." His prediction: "The Trujillo aides who would hold the Generalissimo's power will have to hold it with force."

Tad Szulc (N. Y. **Times**, 6/2) said Dominican exiles in the U.S. and Puerto Rico and Latin American observers were

*(Continued on Page 8)*

## *In this issue*

**KUMAR GOSHAL REPORTS**
On South Africa . . . . . . p. 3
**REBUFF TO HUAC**
The Fund is silent . . . . p. 4
**A-TEST DEADLOCK**
The Geneva impasse . . . p. 5
**A WALK IN EUROPE**
Peace march report . . . p. 6
**THE FACTS ON KOREA**
Behind the coup . . . . . . p. 7
**A LUNCH IN PARIS**
See the Spectator . . . . . p. 12

## THE MAIL BAG

### Time for a change

OAKLAND, CALIF.

In the field of sports, our jubilation knows no bounds when a Joe Jones or a Wilma Rudolph brings glory to America—no segregation mobs there to deny their contribution. But when Joe Jones looks for housing accommodations, second-class citizenship begins. When, with their college Masters Degrees, Negroes set out to use their talents in their chosen profession, they meet jimcrow. When four little Negro girls set out for their first school year via integration, they see mobs of whites spewing hate. A Labor Temple goes up in Washington; a Negro cannot get hired because some unions have "white only" rules.

In the words of A. Philip Randolph, "Something drastic has to be done to bring about a change."

**Lloyd Maes**

### The right to dissent

FAR ROCKAWAY, N.Y.

As a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, I have come to feel a particular distress at the turn of recent events. The current Eastland investigation will hardly, I am sure, affect my personal liberty and position should Richard Gibson be finally compelled (the alternative may be incarceration) to turn over a list of members. But as a member I have come to feel a personal affront at the government's implicit condemnation of my constitutional right to dissent.

I am neither violent nor subversive, but it strikes me that Eastland and all he represents may finally create as many attitudes of that nature as he seeks to destroy.

**Robert Levin**

### A reply to Humphrey

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There is in Spanish a saying that "you cannot open clams by persuasion." And that's what Senator Humphrey is trying to do by asking Latin American oligarchs to behave like good boys and establish on their own volition "agricultural cooperatives, farm products cooperatives, housing cooperatives, health facilities and other related projects."

Those oligarchs the senator is talking about are the Somoza dynasty of Nicaragua; the 14 El Salvadorean wealthy families now again in power; that great "democrat" Ydigoras Fuentes of Guatemala, and so forth. These tyrants are the instruments of the American monopolies (United Fruit, Standard Oil, etc.), the principals of the invasion of Cuba.

The senator is correct in saying that "a ruling clique never willingly yields its power." It was Karl Marx who said so!

And overthrow the ruling clique, Fidel Castro did; to put into force the very program Sen. Humphrey asks from the oligarchs. Yet Sen. Humphrey's own Congress is calling Castro names and plotting his downfall.

Sen. Humphrey also recommends that to avoid the repetition of the Cuban revolution in other Latin American countries, the U.S. should "make common cause with the non-communist left."

The senator should know that "non-communist leftists" attempted in the past and even recently to depose tyrannies in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Haiti, Paraguay, Dominican Republic and other countries. It was enough for the tyrants themselves and their spokesmen of the "free press" to charge them with being "pro-communist" or "pro-Soviet" to convince the State Department, the President, Congress, et al, that they were the "enemies" and that those in power were the "friends" of the U.S.

It is time for men in Humphrey's important position to begin to realize that our countries are determined to kick out the rotten oligarchial system in Latin America together with those who support them — American monopolies which rob us of our wealth and are responsible for starving, exploiting and killing our peoples.

**Pedro H. Delpino**

### Margaret H. FitzPatrick

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The staff of **New World Review** on May 6 lost a treasured friend and co-worker in the death of Mrs. Margaret H. FitzPatrick, who for the last seven years has generously given invaluable assistance to the publication of the magazine. Mrs. FitzPatrick's never-failing response to demands on her time and energy, and her confidence in a human and rational future for all humankind will keep her memory an inspiration.

**Murray Young**
Managing Editor

### Spaceman in person

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Yuri Gagarin was here and stole the heart of Prague. For the kids it was a dream come true—to see a spaceman "eye to eye"—and even run after his car for a while to keep him close. Gagarin turns out to be a very modest young man with a warm smile and firm handshake. His remark that "Many of you will take such a trip on a coupon from your trade union," is typical of the way he talks.

But Gagarin cannot talk himself out of being a hero, and on the eve of May Day, Czechoslovakia awarded him the title of "Hero of Socialist Labor." And while Gagarin was the first among those honored, he shared honors with many Czech and Slovak workers who received awards for outstanding achievements. Each year at this time about 200 men and women—coal miners, academicians, farm women and teachers, artists and construction workers — receive recognition for contributions to the development of their country. Each gets a substantial monetary award as well as a medal.

**George Wheeler**

### For the fund drive

SAN MATEO, CALIF.

This note is to let you know how much my wife and I appreciate the GUARDIAN. We want to contribute the enclosed $5 to the present fund drive. We wish it were more, but our Social Security is so small.

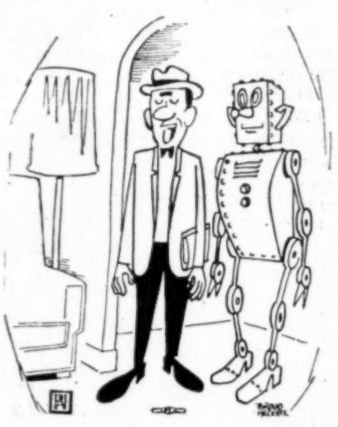
**Warren K. & Josephine Billings**

### The un-free land

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our national anthem proclaims us "the land of the free." So it is rather curious that to my knowledge there is no un-English, un-French or un-any other activities committee abroad. Our own lawmakers are in such a panic that they have made dissent an "un-American" activity. This in a nation born in revolution!

**Samuel Buck**



The Signalman's Journal
**"Dear, I brought the boss home for dinner."**

### What it takes

ST. MARY'S, O.

I cannot express how I would feel without the GUARDIAN. We need it more than the average mind realizes.

There was a time when one could start a paper with a few hundred dollars. Today it takes thousands, and even millions. It is big business and owned and run by big business. It slants the news to suit big business. If it did not do so it could not exist and make millions of dollars in advertising which also misleads the people.

The GUARDIAN cannot get that kind of advertising and it would not be the kind of publication that the people need to get the truth if it aimed for that kind of support. Most of the GUARDIAN's subscribers are not financially able to give the support the GUARDIAN needs to increase its circulation. However, I feel we must manage to do our bit no matter how small.

**C. J. Henry Wenker**

### Don't hold breath

FLUSHING, N.Y.

*To the tune of "The Wearing o' the Green"*

O Yankee, do you think we'll live
To see the morning when
We'll do a deed that will in truth
Enlist the minds of men?

**Minstrel Boy**

### He'd raise a shout

MIAMI, FLA.

Let's raise our voices in time to save our lovely country from becoming an atomic desert through further irresponsible, reckless, impetuous action.

**George K. Meyer**

### *How Crazy Can You Get Dept.*

A Lisbon intellectual told me, "A certain amount of brutality exists. We admit it. But in order to be brutal to someone, you must care about him. An African is like a woman. The more you beat her, the more she loves you."

—Article on Angola by Ernest Dunbar in **Look**, March 28

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: G. F., Los Angeles, Calif.

## Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, dean of Negro scholars, last week had a challenge for Senators Taft and Douglas: Instead of arguing about the "right" and the "wrong" war, let them come to Chicago's American People's Peace Congress, opening June 29, where he would debate on the question of peace. In telegrams to both, he offered the floor of the congress as "an appropriate arena for a debate on the real issue."

His offer came at the close of a week-end meeting of national sponsors of the American Peace Crusade, organizer of the three-day congress at which 5,000 delegates are expected. The meeting adopted a resolution reminding that this month is "the grim anniversary of one year of war in Korea."

—From the National Guardian, June 13, 1951

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A., Possessions, Canada, $5 a year. Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES ARONSON, Editor — CEDRIC BELFRAGE, Editor-in-exile — JOHN T. McMANUS, General Manager

EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Joanne Grant, Charles Humboldt, Robert E. Light, Tabitha Petran, Edward T. Zusi, Robert Joyce, (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. CIRCULATION: George Evans. PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (Havana), Gordon Schaffer (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Phyllis Rosner (Rome), Edith Anderson (Berlin), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Ursula Wassermann (Tel Aviv).

Vol. 13, No. 35 — 401 — June 12, 1961

### REPORT TO READERS

# President's opportunity

(Continued from Page 1)

in Iran, Laos, S. Korea and Vietnam. While the Communists in under-developed lands have been able to devise "a workable politico-economic formula," in areas dominated by the U.S. "a skin of capitalism has been grafted onto a feudal framework, and this ugly and inefficient hybrid—kept alive indeed only by constant injections of dollars and arms—has cannibalized democracy in order to survive. The peasants have got neither bread nor votes."

Now the U.S. satellite structure is crumbling, the **New Statesman** says. President Kennedy must think fast "and he is right to seek an early meeting with Khrushchev." The London **Times** frets that it seems early to discuss France's role in NATO and that the Khrushchev meetings appear "curiously timed," but concludes that "only a driving sense of urgency has made President Kennedy depart from his original desire to stay still and to go out now to see what can be done to unify the western alliance and stop Mr. Khrushchev from straining U.S. patience too far."

AT VIENNA, from press reports available at GUARDIAN press time, their K. tried his diplomatic best not to strain our K.'s patience. He mentioned Cuba only to state that "Castro is no Communist," supported the objective of a neutral and independent Laos; discussed Berlin at length apparently without restating his country's timetable for signing a peace treaty with East Germany; expressed again his concern for a nuclear test ban as a part of a general disarmament agreement (see p. 5); and engaged in a brief exposition of his "three wars" doctrine, which bars nuclear war as unthinkable and limited wars as likely to lead to nuclear wars, but defends the right of peoples to wage wars of national liberation.

President Kennedy most probably sought, and certainly got out of the Vienna meeting—which Chairman Khrushchev found "useful"—the prestige of having brought off a bilateral summit conference in a very trying period without U-2 incidents.

But how will he use the new prestige?

IT MAY BE PIE in the sky to suggest this, but against the background of this brief meeting there has seldom been such a clear-cut opportunity for any U.S. President since Roosevelt to take all the right steps really to assure U.S. prestige before the world.

- Forgetting Laos (which we should have done long ago, when the Viet Minh expelled the French in 1954) President Kennedy could do much on his return to face the inevitable and help prepare public opinion for the acceptance of China as the rightful occupant of the UN seat now held by Chiang Kai-shek's exiled Nationalist cabal. Recognition of China and resumption of trade with her would open up broad new opportunities for U.S. commerce, not only in China but throughout the Asia which is surely—and rapidly—moving into China's sphere. Chiang is our greatest liability, Asian trade our greatest opportunity in the East.
- He could prepare now to participate in full faith in the disarmament talks scheduled for next August, as the best way out of the situation described in detail on p. 5.
- Now that the so-called Tractors for Freedom project has broken the ice for a resumption of trade with Cuba, President Kennedy could and should resume diplomatic and full trade relations with the Castro government as soon as possible, and then turn attention to the explosive situation existing throughout all Latin America. Surely a U.S. which has derived billions in profits from its monopolies throughout Latin America can return a vaster sum than a mere $500 or $600 million toward its resuscitation.
- Before the speculation about it goes too far, President Kennedy should reverse the widely reported plan to involve our country in so-called "para-military" activities in other countries. A three-column story in the **Wall Street Journal** for May 16 (which we urge every reader to read in full if obtainable) discloses that "honorable men of high rank now sit in [Washington] calmly discussing the possibilities of such things as methodical assassination of Communist leaders abroad."
- In our own country, President Kennedy should certainly apply not only his own presidential prestige but every federal resource toward the immediate destruction of the pattern of segregation maintained by law and ingrained custom in the South.

FOR ANY OR ALL of these objectives, we firmly believe the good conscience of GUARDIAN readers should be expressed in writing to our President. His opportunities for justice and betterment, the world over, far outweigh those for self-destruction in defense of a dying era. More people should tell him so. **—THE GUARDIAN**

**THE REPUBLIC IS BORN IN BITTERNESS**

# South Africa nearing crisis; Apartheid resistance rises

*This dispatch, the first by the GUARDIAN's foreign editor from Africa, was sent from Conakry and is based largely on interviews with informed Africans in London and Paris. South African censorship has held up information on the effectiveness of the strike by Africans, but it is known that there was an almost solid African boycott of the inauguration of the republic. More than 12,000 armed troops lined the ceremonial route and police were everywhere. Ghana and the United Arab Republic have refused to recognize the new republic.*

**By Kumar Goshal**
Guardian staff correspondent

CONAKRY, GUINEA

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA proclaimed itself a republic on May 31. On that day it installed for a seven-year term the ultra-racist Charles Swart as its first President. A pillar of the Nationalist Party, Swart had been a movie actor in Hollywood, a country lawyer, and a Minister of Justice for 11 years during which he packed the bench with white-supremacist Afrikaaners and introduced and enforced laws that dragged the reputation of the Supreme Court to its lowest level.

This apartheid republic came into being on the crest of a wave of mass arrests and brutal suppression of the rights of the majority. Its birth was marked also by the spread of African opposition and militant action against the government in areas hitherto relatively peaceful, and by panic flight of white people and of capital from South Africa.

Organized African struggle has been growing, despite government brutality, since the first "Day of Protest" June 26, 1950. It culminated in the March, 1960, Sharpeville massacre. But the slaughter and banning of political organizations failed to stifle the Africans' struggle for freedom.

**PROTEST RALLY:** Despite the bans, Africans held a conference at the Arya Samaj (Indian Community) Hall in Pietermaritzburg last March 25-26 to plan protest action against the inauguration of the white republic. Over 1,500 delegates from African political, religious, sports and cultural organizations, representing 145 urban and rural centers participated. The delegates unanimously declared:

"No constitution or form of government decided without the participation of the African people—who form an absolute majority of the population—can enjoy moral validity or merit support either within South Africa or beyond its borders."

The conference called for a National Convention on May 31—as a counter to the proclamation of the republic—"of elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis irrespective of race, color, creed or other limitation." It urged that the convention draw up a "new non-racial democratic Constitution for South Africa."

But the Maritzburg delegates were under no illusions. Nelson Mandela, elected secretary of the National Action Council, said he expected that Premier Hendrik Verwoerd would ignore the call for a National Convention and "would continue to make ever more savage attacks on the rights and living conditions of the African people." Mandela added that the African and other non-white communities would therefore be forced to "stage countrywide demonstrations on the eve of the proclamation of the Republic in protest," followed by a sustained campaign of non-cooperation until their demands are met.

**STRIKE CALL:** The Action Council called on workers of South Africa to strike and others to close shops and stay home in protest on May 29, 30 and 31. It asked "the Indian and Colored (of mixed ancestry) communities and all democratic Europeans to join forces" with the Africans. It urged "democratic people the world over . . . to impose economic sanctions against this country and to isolate in every possible way the minority government whose continued disregard of all human rights and freedoms constitutes a threat to world peace."

Response to the call was highly significant. The Indian Congress of Africa and the South African Congress of Trade Unions gave all-out support. The Coloreds in Cape Town, who had been more or less pacified by a few crumbs of concession from the rulers' table, made a response of solidarity. The all-white Congress of Democrats, though numerically small, pledged unequivocal support for the demonstrations.

The South African Methodist Church and a majority of the faculty of the University of Cape Town endorsed the demand for a non-racial National Convention, as did the (white) Women's Black Sash group and Alan Paton's Liberal Party.

The Verwoerd government retaliated swiftly. It banned all public and private gatherings, going to the absurd length of prohibiting meetings of Boy Scouts, knitting circles and sewing clubs. It mobilized the army, the air force and the Territorials (citizens army) and alerted the paratroopers. It called up the Home Guards (Rifle Commandos) for full-time duty. It provoked a run on guns and ammunition stores, as panicky whites feverishly began target practice.

**THE LOOK OF WAR:** Using the old Suppression of Communism Act and the hastily passed General Law Amendment Act, the police and the army jailed thousands of Africans and others, including such Liberal Party leaders as Mrs. Jill Richburn and Leonard Bloom. The country took on a wartime look with the dragging of Africans, Indians and Coloreds from their homes; the indiscriminate confiscation of literature, the pell-mell rush of riot squads and the incessant rumbling of armored cars through the streets of the big cities.

Most of the Action Council leaders, including Mandela, went underground. Noting the hysteria created by the government's action, Mandela, in a message phoned to the Johannesburg **Star**, assured Europeans they had nothing to fear. He said: "We have insisted to our people they must stay quietly at home as a protest against the republic in which we have no say."

**THE ULTIMATE MEANING OF APARTHEID**
*African victims of the 1960 massacre at Sharpeville*

Although these protest attempts received a fair amount of publicity, less was known abroad of the spread of opposition to the Verwoerd government into the Reserves where the government has been herding the Africans. Under the Bantustan Act, the government has been creating a complex system of tribal, regional and territorial authorities who, by appointment, would rule over Africans Reserves, parcel out land, keep the Africans occupied with petty local issues and rivalries among docile chiefs, and provide cheap labor for white-owned industries to be established on the borders of the Reserves.

**CHIEFS OUSTED:** But the massive segregation of Africans in their own homeland has been meeting increasing hostility from the segregated. Chiefs indiscriminately imposed on tribal regions have in some places been boycotted or hooted out of their areas. The Ba Pedi tribe of Sekhukuniland resisted the Bantu system in 1958; acting chief Moroamoche and the councilors were banished, 338 Africans were arrested and the area was under police rule for the whole of 1959. There were widespread demonstrations in Natal in August, 1959.

The most significant resistance against the Bantustan scheme is in East Pondoland in the Transkei. The 250,000 Pondos are in active revolt, threatening to inflame the whole Transkei.

Pondo resistance first arose over the government's choice of Chief Botha, whom the people had long before rejected. After a series of complaints to Pretoria had gone unheeded and Pondo spokesmen at a public meeting had been arrested in 1959, the Pondos built up a popular movement and in March, 1960, set up a commoners' committee. The committee organized mass meetings to discuss Pondo problems. When they found that informers were carrying tales to government officials, the Pondos burned the informers' huts and drove them out of the area.

The government could not ignore such defiance. In September, 1960, when several thousand Pondos were meeting at Ngquza Hill, police attacked the gathering. Official reports admitted 11 Pondos were shot dead and 15 seriously wounded. Of the 23 Pondos arrested on charges of "fighting," 19 were sentenced to jail terms and six strokes of the lash. At a subsequent inquiry on the shooting, the magistrate characterized the firing of Sten guns as "unjustified and excessive, even reckless."

**AREA ISOLATED:** The inquiry commission's report, made public on Oct. 11, also allowed $56,000 in damages for hut burnings. The Pondoland National Committee at a meeting on Oct. 25 rejected the commission's findings, declared their opposition to the Bantustan authorities and decided to launch their struggle with non-payment of taxes. When five of their top leaders were jailed, they began a boycott of stores.

The government arrested and exiled Pondo leader Anderson Ganyile, declared a state of emergency, surrounded the area with troops and lowered a curtain of silence over the region. Underground reports in the last six months tell of increasingly militant struggle by the Pondos and the spreading of the revolt in other parts of the Transkei. The struggle has now developed into a political demand for representatives in parliament.

The events in Pondoland and other Reserves belie the Verwoerd government's contention that African discontent is confined to urban areas and is fomented by "outside agitators." The situation in South Africa is graver than the world has been led to believe. Despite rigid censorship, the Pondoland story has leaked out. Despite African-Indian-Colored opposition, the apartheid republic has been proclaimed, but its insecure foundation is indicated in the attitude of the whites.

**TIME SHORT:** Gigantic display of military might has failed to reassure the white population. More and more white South Africans are fleeing from an anticipated civil war to Australia, Britain and elsewhere. Real estate prices are dipping. The flight of capital from the country rose from $135,000,000 in 1959 to nearly $550,000,000 in 1960. In the last two months, gold-mine shares have dropped 30 percent and gold and foreign exchange reserves have fallen by half in the last year. The government has clamped restrictions on travel allowances and export of capital, and reduced import licenses by two-thirds. Flow of foreign investment has dried up. Afro-Asian boycott of South African goods is airtight. Pretoria has sent "trade goodwill" missions in desperation to France, West Germany and Italy.

The chance to solve South African problems by non-violent means is rapidly disappearing. The Africans still do not endorse violence, and there is barely enough time to heed the words of African National Congress President Albert Luthuli: "We are all here . . . and since we are all here, we must seek a way whereby we can realize democracy, so that we can live in peace and harmony in this land of ours."

**AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE**
*A visiting Ghanaian leader addressing Stockholm workers*

UN-AMERICANS INQUIRY GETS NOWHERE

# HUAC dulls its ax in swipe at Fund for Social Analysis

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

NEW EVIDENCE supporting the campaign to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities was developed when the Committee opened its 1961 season of public hearings on May 31 with an attack on the Fund for Social Analysis. The hearings were fruitless and were almost entirely ignored by the press, although the press table was full. Originally scheduled for two days of public hearings, the public session was canceled on the second day and the remaining witnesses appeared in executive session.

The Fund for Social Analysis is an informal private association for the encouragement of research in Marxist theory and its application. The HUAC subpenaed several members of the Fund's Awards Committee, and the following appeared before the Committee in open hearings: Annette T. Rubinstein, Harry Magdoff, Irving Kaplan, Stanley Moore and this writer.

A Fund award recipient, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, was also called. Dr. Aptheker, a leader in the Communist Party, U.S.A., is a scholar working on the history of the South and of the Negro people. He is the author of **Negro Slave Revolts** and **A Documentary History of the American Negro,** among other works. He received $1,000 for research for his history of the Civil War period, scheduled for publication this year.

**KNOW-NOTHINGISM:** The hearings on the Fund aroused considerable advance opposition. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on May 31 placed a quarter page ad in the Washington **Post** signed by 86 community and academic leaders. It said: "The HUAC has reached a new low in know-nothingism . . . it is trying to frighten scholars into intellectual orthodoxy." The ECLC statement had earlier been submitted to House Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.) as a petition to cancel the hearings. Representatives of the Fund itself said: "The present harassment by the HUAC is aimed directly at the liberty of thought and right to knowledge which are basic for all academic freedom." They called on the academic community to protest.

HUAC Chairman Francis Walter (D-Pa.) put a special statement in the **Congressional Record** on May 22 complaining that his Committee was the object of a campaign to "smear, discredit, and bring about [its] eventual abolition." He warned against the extent to which "a small group of hard-core Communists are able to dupe the non-Communist educational community into supporting them in their attack on the Committee on Un-American Activities."

**NONE COOPERATIVE:** The legislative purpose claimed for these hearings was based on Rep. Walter's bill HR 4700 to amend the Internal Security Act to prohibit Federal income tax benefits and exemptions to "Communist organizations." Since the Fund has no income in the Federal income tax sense, has no employes, and transmits all contributions entirely into grants for research, this alleged legislative purpose was challenged by the Fund's representatives.

All the witnesses refused to cooperate with the Committee, basing their refusal on the First, Fourth, Fifth and Ninth Amendments. Kaplan claimed the protection of the Human Rights Covenant of the United Nations as well. Unlike most previous Committee "investigations," there was no "friendly" witness or informer setting the stage against the Fund. Committee efforts to require witnesses to turn over lists of contributors, applicants for grants, and all correspondence failed when it was made clear that such records did not exist when the Committee issued its subpenas. Likewise, efforts to smear the Fund for its award to Dr. Aptheker only served to establish that the grant was based exclusively on his scholarly qualifications.

This was the first HUAC hearing in almost ten months, although over $250,000 has been spent by HUAC be-

tween its August, 1960, attack on merchant seamen and the Fund hearing. Eight of the nine Committee members were on hand but fewer than ten persons other than those directly involved sat in the large House caucus room with its 350 seats.

A Negro elevator operator, directing some passengers to the hearings, volunteered: "That Un-American Activities Committee always goes after the wrong people. Why doesn't it call in the KKK and the White Citizens Councils?"

**THE AWARDS:** Other awards of the Fund for Social Analysis, all previously announced, have been: Martin J. Sklar, graduate student of the University of Wisconsin, $2,000 to complete a study of the background and development of U.S. imperialist ideology since the time of McKinley; Prof. Paul A. Baran, Stanford University, author of **The Political Economy of Growth,** $1,500 to complete a Marxist analysis of monopoly capitalism which he is writing with Dr. Paul M. Sweezy; Prof. William Appleman Williams, University of Wisconsin, author of **Shaping American Diplomacy 1750-1955,** and **The Tragedy of American Diplomacy,** $1,500 toward an interpretive history of the United States from the Sixteenth century to the present; Prof. Gordon K. Lewis, University of Puerto Rico, author of articles published in many learned journals, $1,000 for his book **America as a Colonial Power: The Puerto Rican Experience;** Dr. Bernice Shoul, contributor to such periodicals as the **Quarterly Journal of Economics,** $1,500 for a series of essays on the relation between Marxian and Classical economics.


NEW YORK

Jean Genet's

"The Blacks"

NEW YORK'S NEWEST SMASH HIT!

Guardian Night

Thurs., July 27

St. Mark's Playhouse

2nd Ave. at 8th St.

*Tickets at $5 & $6*

CALL OR WRITE:

*The GUARDIAN*

197 E. 4th St. OR 3-3800

Green, Providence Journal

THE FIRST VICTIM OF THE LABOR ACT

# ILWU backs Archie Brown

DURING HIS CAMPAIGN, President Kennedy said that "an effective Attorney General . . . could oust James Hoffa as leader of the Teamsters and depose Harry Bridges as boss of the longshoremen." On May 24 Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy got an indictment under the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act against Archie Brown, 49, a member of the executive board of Local 10 of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in San Francisco. Harry Bridges said: "We now understand what President Kennedy meant."

Brown was indicted under a section of the law which prohibits persons convicted of certain crimes or belonging to the Communist Party within the past five years from holding office in a trade union. He was released in $5,000 bail and could receive a maximum penalty of $10,000 fine or a year in prison or both. Defense attorney Norman Leonard said the fight against the provision of the law will take from three to five years and will have to be decided by the Supreme Court.

**"A NATIONAL DISGRACE":** Bridges called the indictment "a direct attack against the ILWU and every other American trade union which insists upon the right of its members to elect anyone to office they wish. It's a national disgrace."

He noted that Brown has worked continuously as a longshoreman since 1935, with time out for the armed services, and said: "He was elected a member of the 35-man executive board by the secret ballots of his fellow longshoremen. They put him into office and they—and none else—can remove him from office in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of this union.

"We have no second-class citizens in the ILWU and every member—irrespective of race, color, creed, national origin or political belief—can be nominated, run for, and be elected to any union office. He serves so long as the members wish him to serve."

Bridges called the arrest a "sneak attack" and said the provision of the law under which it was made is "patently unconstitutional."

**STAND BY PLEDGE:** Brown has been a well-known left-wing political figure in San Francisco for many years and has run for various offices on the Communist ticket in the past. He was ejected from the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco in May, 1960.

Two days after his arrest, his local unanimously adopted a resolution which said "that in conformity with the obligation we pledged when we became members we now declare to stand by and defend Brother Archie Brown and/or any other member of our union who may be arrested and charged with violating the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act."

Brown's attorney said the issue in the case is whether the "government can impose political tests on the right of an individual to hold office in a trade union."

## Last Call in Bay Area for Monte Toyon week end

LAST-MINUTE reservations for the Guardian Week End at Camp Monte Toyon, June 16-18, are still available. Rates are $12.50 for adults, $10 for students, and $6 for those under 12. Call Margaret Driggs, in San Francisco (SK 2-5988), or Lee Coe, in Berkeley (TH 3-4382).


## Behind the Geneva deadlock

**The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like David Wesley's analysis of the impasse in the test-ban talks on page 5, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.**

NAME ..............................

ADDRESS ..............................

CITY .............. ZONE ...... STATE ..............

SUB SENT BY ..............................

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 197 E. 4th St. New York 9, N.Y.

BASIC DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH AT GENEVA

# Russians tie test controls to over-all disarmament

By David Wesley

FOR MORE THAN TWO and a half years a voluntary ban on the testing of nuclear devices has been in force between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. No pact signed and sealed between two rival states has been so scrupulously observed. There has been no inspection to verify compliance, there has been no control of any kind. The two powers, bowing to the overwhelming force of world public opinion, simply decided to trust each other.

If a formal, controlled test ban were to be signed at Geneva tomorrow, it would be three or four years before it could be put into effect. It would take that long to build and man the scores of control posts, with their complicated seismographic gear, required by the treaty. The voluntary ban based on mutual trust would thus have to span a total of about six years, even if agreement were reached at once.

Wall Street Journal

**"This should make our present ultimate weapon obsolete."**

Despite this six-year span, American and British negotiators, throughout the more than 300 Geneva test-ban talks that started Oct. 31, 1958, have insisted on a treaty containing presumably foolproof safeguards against explosions above 4.75 on the international seismic magnitude scale. Otherwise, they argued, the Russians might try to cheat. (Below the 4.75 threshold, scientists cannot guarantee effective monitoring, and the U.S. is now willing, as it was not previously, to accept an unverifiable three-year moratorium on low-level, underground tests.)

**KEYPOINT:** The West seems still not able to understand that if the Russians wanted underhandedly to develop new nuclear devices (and Premier Khrushchev told Walter Lippmann the Soviet Union is not interested in doing so) the cheating could be achieved during the voluntary moratorium, long before a control system came into being.

Any government with such nefarious designs would choose the unwritten moratorium period to carry them out, since, as Soviet negotiator Semyon Tsarapkin has pointed out with some acerbity: "None of these three powers could expose itself to the terrible impact of world indignation after such a trick [violation of a signed, inspected treaty]."

It is this attitude that gives an air of the fantastic to the inflexible U.S. demand—carried over, despite other concessions, by the Kennedy Administration—for an inspection system so overly elaborate, in the Russian view, that they fear it could be a ready-made espionage apparatus. Tsarapkin argues: "We don't want to give Mr. Dulles' CIA the possibility of using these inspections."

The Russians have in effect put the test-ban concept embodied in the Kennedy Administration's draft treaty in the same category as the long series of U.S. arms - inspection schemes which the U.S.S.R. rejects as methods of getting the Russians to donate the kind of information the U-2 planes were trying to steal. Originally, the Russians did not view test-ban control in this light. It was to be a relatively simple business of seismographic monitoring stations, with on-site inspection limited in number and restricted to pinpointed blasts of a "suspicious" undetermined nature, to be directed by an impartial control organ and carried out by impartial inspection teams.

**EARLIER ACCORD:** On this basis a preamble, 17 articles and two of three annexes were agreed upon early in the negotiations. The Russians have also accepted several other of the 24 articles which compose a complete draft treaty offered by U.S. negotiator Arthur H. Dean and his British colleague, David Ormsby-Gore, on April 18, a month after the talks reopened following the change in administration in Washington. These include (1) a ban on outer-space tests, (2) the moratorium on under - 4.75 blasts, (3) East-West parity on the control commission and (4) individual veto power over the treaty's total budget figure.

These points represent important shifts in the American position since President Eisenhower. But the nub of the problem remains the nature of the inspection system spelled out in the unagreed-upon articles. Disputed points are: The number of control posts to be established in the Soviet Union (the Americans want 19, down from 21, and the Russians stop at 15); the number of "free" annual inspections (The Americans want 20, the Russians, 3); the make-up of the inspection teams (whether or not the complained-against state can have members on them, as the Russians require), and what kinds of "suspicious" disturbances are to be inspected.

**THE 'NUCLEAR CLUB' GETS BIGGER AND MORE DANGEROUS**
*As Parisians got the news of the 1960 Sahara test bomb*

Meantime, Soviet caution has been increased by an impression that France, under autocratic de Gaulle, wouldn't sign an agreement, and by a loss of faith in the idea of impartiality as a result of Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold's direction of the U.N. Congo mission. Consequently, the Russians now insist on the veto principle in regard to control machinery of the treaty.

Ignoring the fact that the veto proposal would not affect three "free" inspections a year—a figure the Russians might well agree to increase—Washington and the Western press have seized upon the veto demand as the crux of the test-ban impasse. This lays the ground for a "blame-the-Russians" campaign should the negotiations fail, as Washington now expects.

**RUSSIAN VIEW:** It is probable that the Russians knew the veto plan would meet a flat rejection, and this suggests that they have lost interest in a test ban outside the framework of a disarmament plan. With the U.S. seeking a good deal more inspection than the Soviet Union feels is warranted, a test ban to the Russians becomes the kind of "arms control" scheme that they are convinced would favor not disarmament, but the intensifying of the arms race.

Here we get to the heart of the arms-race problem. To President Kennedy a failure of the test-ban negotiations would, as he said recently, "substantially lessen" the outlook for disarmament. He was referring to the issues of inspection and the veto, and his judgment has been echoed by such opinion leaders as the liberal columnist Marquis Childs, the conservative pundits of the New York **Times**, and the supposedly pro - disarmament senator, Hubert Humphrey. The Russians, on the other hand, have been moving toward the exactly contrary notion of wanting, as Tsarapkin told **New Statesman** correspondent Andrew Roth, "to see the 'framework' of a general disarmament treaty worked out before the test-ban treaty is signed."

This perplexing contradiction stems from Western failure to grasp the essence of the Soviet view on the arms question. This view was stated by Premier Khrushchev to the UN on Sept. 23, 1960: "At the same time the Soviet Government is in favor of control over disarmament while strongly objecting to all attempts to impose control over armaments, i.e., control without disarmament . . . because [as a result of the knowledge gained] this would mean encouraging the aggressor."

Because Moscow will accept only limited, veto-protected inspection of a test-ban does not mean, as Kennedy and Humphrey appear to believe, that it will not accept a complete and veto-less inspection system for general and complete disarmament. Its disarmament plan calls for just such total, continuing, and even permanent, on-site inspection under a UN control organ operating, like the General Assembly, on the two-thirds majority voting principle.

**THE ALTERNATIVE:** What the test-ban situation now comes down to, then, is that the Russians, with the apparent deadlock over inspection without disarmament, favor the logical alternative of tying in the test-ban project to disarmament. Here they are willing, as Khrushchev has often stated, to let the West write its own ticket on inspection and control. The Russians are once again saying in effect, if what you're after is complete freedom of inspection, then you'll have to accept disarmament.

The real decision facing the Kennedy Administration is thus not whether to break off the test-ban talks and face "substantially lessened" hopes for disarmament, but the reverse: whether to carry the test-ban talks into the disarmament conference scheduled for August and at long last accept a disarmament-now plan. This can be had, as Khrushchev has promised, with the toughest control system Disarmament Director John J. McCloy can devise.

With this alternative apparently going unrecognized, however, the decision that appears to be under most active consideration in Washington is eventually to break off the negotiations and resume U.S. testing. As to this strategy, Sydney Gruson wrote in the New York **Times** from Geneva:

"The case to be sold to the world is almost an impossible one, many veteran delegates of the conference here believe. As one delegate put it, people will be asked to accept the necessity of United States testing to devise weapons that might kill more people more cheaply.

"'I would like to see the advertising man who could pretty up a proposition like that,' was his wry comment."

## *New Lamont pamphlet on Cuba*

IN A NEW pamphlet entitled **The Crime Against Cuba** (Basic Pamphlets, New York) Dr. Corliss Lamont, author and teacher, calls for an "unqualified pledge" by the Kennedy Administration not to undertake direct or indirect military intervention against Cuba. Summing up this comprehensive study of U.S.-Cuban relations since the revolution, Dr. Lamont suggests the following steps by the Administration:

Cease all further support to those Cuban exiles, on American soil or anywhere else, who are planning another invasion attempt.

Announce that henceforth the U.S. government will respect in full all international treaty obligations regarding Cuba.

Arrange the speedy resignation from the Central Intelligence Agency of those top officials who had primary responsibility for the CIA's role in the Cuban fiasco. Also, replace Adolf A. Berle Jr., the Administration's coordinator of Latin-American policies.

Accept the Cuban government's proposal for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations.

Agree to negotiate the chief political and other problems that exist today between the two countries.

Agree to submit disputes on which agreement cannot at present be reached to the United Nations or the World Court.

Lift the ban against American citizens' going to Cuba.

Send to Cuba a special fact-finding commission of distinguished Americans to make a complete, impartial study of the situation there.

*Don't feel bad if you can't go to Europe this summer . . .*

**Come on the**

**GUARDIAN BOAT RIDE with PETE SEEGER!**

**June 22 7-10:30 p.m.**

**Just $3.50 — Under 12 $2.50**

**For reservations call OR 3-3800**

WALKERS FARE HURDLES IN EUROPE

# Peace hikers swinging on the road to Moscow

By Jack A. Smith
Special to the Guardian

WHAT HAD SEEMED to many to be an almost impossible task six months ago became an accomplished reality June 4 when 13 members of the San Francisco-to-Moscow Peace Walk began to march through England, opening the European phase of their transcontinental journey.

With barely two months of advance planning, a subsistence budget and a profoundly radical program, the ten pacifists who set out Dec. 1 to walk 4,000 miles across the United States arrived in New York on schedule and with their ranks swelled four times.

Thousands of persons participated in the march, which brought to millions of Americans the doctrine of nonviolence and the policy of unilateral disarmament and noncooperation with military programs. Above all, it made many Americans think for the first time about the ultimate issues involved in the cold war.

The road ahead appears even more difficult. The walkers, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, must trek 2,500 miles through seven European countries whose governments may not look with favor upon their message and may be suspicious of their motives.

**SOME OBSTACLES:** The language barrier, the burden of coordinating so big a project with so few resources, and the unique problems to be encountered in some nations seem to be overwhelming.

- In France the government has imposed a ban on all political demonstrations because of the Algerian crisis, and yet every time the peacewalkers take a step it is a demonstration.
- In the Soviet Union, although greater emphasis is placed on the issue of peace, the official policy is multilateral disarmament. It remained to be seen whether the government would allow an organized group advocating unilateral disarmament to circulate through the country.

The Soviet Peace Committee has agreed to discuss the situation with A. J. Muste, CNVA national chairman. He scheduled six days of talks, starting in Moscow June 6.

Muste, although anxious for permission to enter the U.S.S.R., has stated the walkers "will wish to proclaim the same basic message in the Soviet Union as in any other country, namely, opposition to any nuclear war preparations by any government, a call on each government to disarm unilaterally, and on people everywhere to assume personal responsibility for withdrawing from war preparations and working constructively for peace."

**VIGIL PLANNED:** The walkers have indicated they would allow no compromise of their basic message in order to continue the trip at any point. If any nation prohibits the walkers, Muste said, "some are prepared to stage a long vigil at the border, while others no doubt will feel in conscience bound to enter peacefully and openly but illegally."

Recalling that another group of pacifists was prevented from visiting U.S.S.R. several years ago, Muste said the Peace Committee invitation to him "indicated a greater desire by the Soviet Union to break out of the nuclear deadlock."

"We believe a great many Russians would feel sympathetic to our point of view," he continued. "We plan to point out that when the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped nuclear bomb testing, the United States was compelled by world opinion to likewise suspend testing.

"Our belief is that any unilateral steps taken by one side would have to be followed by the other side. We will urge the Russian people, as we have done to all peoples, to disarm unilaterally and lead the world away from the prospect of world annihilation."

CNVA Secretary Bradford Lyttle, leader of the Walk, said that if the group is admitted to Russia "it would strengthen the forces there that believe in peaceful coexistence."

**RALLY IN ENGLAND:** The other European nations—England, Belgium, East and West Germany and Poland—present other but less important obstacles in varying degrees.

A rally in London's Trafalgar Square started the European Walk. It was organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and supported by several peace groups and leaders including Bertrand Russell.

The walkers expect to enter France at Le Havre June 13 and reach Paris by June 22. They are scheduled to arrive in Brussels July 6, Bonn July 18, Berlin Aug. 16, Warsaw Sept. 5, and Moscow Oct. 25.

The Americans expect to be joined by walkers from several Western European countries and hope for East European support. Volunteers from Holland and Scandinavia will lead tributary marches through Holland and Denmark to join the main American-European march in Germany.

The U.S. team was limited to 13 members for financial reasons. The eight men and five women walked more than 1,000 miles in America. Nine of them were with the walk from California.

The walkers, ranging in age from 18 to 47, have varied backgrounds:

**Regina Fischer,** New York, a nurse who speaks Russian. She is the mother of two children. She became involved in pacifist activities only a short time before the walk.

**Karl Meyer,** Chicago, who has been imprisoned six times for his peace activities. He is a graduate of the University of Chicago and is active in the Catholic Worker movement. He is the son of former Rep. William H. Meyer (D-Vt.)

**John Kruse,** Cranford, N.J., a graduate of Washington College. He has been a miner, merchant seaman and operator of his own salmon fishing boat.

**Scott Herrick,** New York, a Navy veteran.

**Bea Burnette Herrick,** a model who joined the walk in San Francisco and married Scott in Chicago.

**David Rich,** New Hampshire, who walked every inch of the way across the U.S.

**Martha Rich,** North Newton, Kan., who left college to join.

**Bradford Lyttle,** Chicago, who served two terms in prison for opposition to militarism.

**Gerald Lehmann,** Mokena, Ill., who conducted a village community service project in Mexico.

**Phil Leahy,** an Army veteran.

**Susan Witlin Hoffman,** New York, the youngest walker.

**Mildred Gilbertson,** St. Louis, who joined the peace movement a year ago.

**Barton Stone,** San Francisco, a former member of the Army Reserve.

**FOOTSTEPS FOR PEACE, ECHOING ACROSS A CONTINENT**
*This was the San Francisco start; next, through Europe to Moscow*

HOFFMAN IS RELEASED

# Protesters on CD are still paying

THE FIRST ANNUAL meeting of something called the Advisory Committee on Behavioral Research of the Office of Civil Defense Management—National Research Council was held in Washington, D.C., last month and spokesmen for it told a press conference that those who don't believe in civil defense preparations are either ignorant or neurotic.

Whichever it was, several non-believers were still paying for their sins in not taking shelter during the nation-wide civil defense alert last April 28.

- In Kingston, N.Y., three residents of Woodstock were jailed for five days and fined $25 each when they pleaded guilty even though, as they pointed out, Woodstock had no fallout shelter. Two other residents who pleaded not guilty were held in $50 bail pending trial.
- In Durham, N.H., 18 persons—16 of them students at the University of New Hampshire—were found guilty of not taking cover; 15 were fined $50 each and the other three $25 each. All but four pleaded not guilty and five announced they would appeal the verdict to test the state law. Republican Gov. Wesley Powell demanded the immediate expulsion of the 16 students, but the university president refused and the governor said he would take the matter up with the trustees.
- In New York City a group of ten persons was sentenced to a choice of $50 fines or 25 days in jail; five of them took jail and the sentence of another was suspended.

Allan Hoffman, 19-year-old painter whose 60-day sentence was the longest on record, was released in $100 bail on May 26 pending an appeal of his "excessive and arbitrary" sentence after spending 18 days in the workhouse. Hoffman and his 18-year-old wife, Susan, participated in the coast-to-coast Walk for Peace sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action. Mrs. Hoffman was one of the hand-picked team sent abroad for the remainder of the walk from London to Moscow (see p. 6).

Elizabeth Just, 20-year-old New York University student who was given a 30-day sentence early in May, was finally freed on May 22 with a suspended sentence after three days in the Women's House of detention.

**MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION TALKING AND WALKING FOR PEACE**
*This was the scene at 42nd Street and Avenue of the Americas as the delegation headed for UN headquarters*

## L.A. report on Oslo conference

DR. ISIDORE ZIFERSTEIN, associate clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of Southern California, will report on the Oslo Conference Against the Spread of Nuclear Weapons, at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles on Friday, June 16.

U.S. POLICY IN FAR EAST GIVES JAPAN 'MIDDLEMAN' ROLE

# The Korea coup: A brake on a new uprising

By Michael Munk

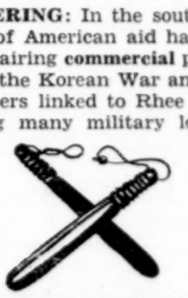
*The writer recently returned after more than a year's service with the U.S. Army in Korea. While there he lectured on political science to soldiers for the University of Maryland.*

DURING THE LAST hungry South Korean winter, it was clear that something had to give. The government of Premier Chang Myun—a shaky coalition of former landowners, pro-Japanese businessmen and corrupt bureaucrats eager for a slice of the American aid pie—was under fire from both Left and Right. It is hard to conceive of a more unpopular government even in South Korea, where governments have never held the confidence of the people.

Chang Myun was on his way out. The only questions were: Who would give the shove required, and when would it happen? On May 15, barely a year after Korean students toppled the senile dictator, Syngman Rhee, the world had the answers. A military dictatorship, with implicit American support, administered the **coup de grace** to Premier Chang and prevented, for the time being, a popular revolution of the Left.

A crucial factor in the Korean situation is the war-born division of the nation. While the south contains two-thirds of the total population of about 30,000,000, it is the agricultural section of the country. Most of Korea's natural resources, including the Yalu River's hydroelectric power, are in the north, together with the industrial base created by Japanese imperialism between 1905 and 1945. With a planned economy and Soviet and Chinese aid, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea in the north has industrialized its war-devastated industry. On a per capita basis, it now approaches Japanese production levels in the basic fields. **Time** magazine has conceded that North Korea is the "showplace of Asian Communism."

**PROFITEERING:** In the south, however, $3 billion of American aid has succeeded only in repairing **commercial** property destroyed in the Korean War and enriching the profiteers linked to Rhee and Chang—including many military leaders. Unemployment has reached 30 percent of the labor force. Government statistics report 150,000 peasants dead of starvation last winter, and 2,000,000 more in a "food short" status. The few functioning factories operate sporadically, because of inability to compete with smuggled Japanese or black market American goods, and shortages of electric power. Since the spring of 1960, when the nation celebrated the end of one police state, disillusionment and anger have become the products of a popular revolt sacrificed to the cold war.



The bitter lesson led many Koreans openly to question the Chang-U.S. official position that Korea could be unified only on South Korea's terms: The end of Korean socialism, with rule by American puppets. Students and professionals took up the "negotiation with the north" theme and neutralism was widely discussed in the relatively free press. At the same time, Premier Kim Il Sung's North Korea proposed a step-by-step unification program, beginning with mail exchange and economic aid, through a confederation type of government, and finally elected unification. Kim was confident that contact between North and South Korea would show such contrast in living standards that only socialism would benefit.

**PRESSURE GROWS:** The Chang government and its American backers apparently saw it that way too. Their answer was that no negotiations could take place before South Korea was able to negotiate from a position of "equal strength." But the popular pressure built up as the traditional "winter hunger" of Korea's peasants set in. Students of major Korean universities inaugurated the Unification League, which called for the acceptance of North Korean aid offers. Socialist parties, none of them pro-communist, stepped up demands for negotiations.

PORTRAIT OF A NATION'S GRIEF: 50,000 SOUTH KOREAN STUDENTS MOURN THOSE KILLED IN 1960
*Despite their victory in the uprising, the people once more suffer under a militaristic regime*

When the U.S. State Department imposed a new economic treaty on Chang's government in January, guaranteeing strict U.S. supervision of the budget, many Koreans began to understand who was behind their government. And when the U.S. forced the third devaluation of the **hwan** within a year, pushing up living costs by 20 percent, the American Ambassador was openly called the "Governor General of Korea" in the press, and students joined unionists in marches on the American Embassy in Seoul. For the first time since before the war, "Yankee, Go Home" was heard in the streets.

It was this growing awareness of American domination as responsible for Korean misery that brought a panicky Chang government to life. Demonstrations of unemployed, of students crippled in the April revolt, of war widows, orphans and prostitutes, had been tolerated daily occurrences on Seoul streets since the overthrow of Rhee. But when they took an anti-American turn, repression began in earnest.

Chang tried to ram two "National Security" bills through the National Assembly, providing authority to imprison any protester on the charge of "communism." The response was immediate. Demonstrations of as many as 75,000 filled the main streets of Seoul, Pusan, and Masan. Chang's residence was besieged by students demanding his resignation. By late April, the press openly predicted his overthrow either by left elements or, as they stated, by the only other power able to run the country—the military. American officials passed the word that they were "dissatisfied with the Chang Myun government's inefficiency and weakness in dealing with the communist threat."

**U.S. POLICY:** The U.S. faced a problem. Despite its faults, Chang's regime was completely responsive to long-range American policy in the Far East. This policy is based on the premise that Japanese capitalism, rebuilt by the U.S., should assume the greatest share of responsibility for the "defense of the free world's Asian frontier." In other words, a new "greater Asian co-Prosperity Sphere"—under U.S. sponsorship—should include such U.S. wards as South Vietnam, the Philippines, Formosa and South Korea.

As the Los Angeles **Mirror** (May 5) reported: "Japan and its vast manpower reserves are emerging as the logical mainstay for the defense of Southeast Asia." It also was obvious that Japanese military and economic aid to "free Asia" would result in profitable returns on U.S. investments in Japan's exporting industries.

An important factor in U.S. support of the revolt against Rhee was that the dictator refused to establish normal diplomatic and trade relations between Japan and South Korea. The one major shift in South Korea's position under Chang Myun was his implementation of this long-range U.S. policy. Japanese newsmen were invited to Korea for the first time since 1945. Business, diplomatic, and trade delegations were exchanged, "normalization" talks resumed in Tokyo, and fishermen imprisoned by Rhee were repatriated to Japan. In April, former U.S. Ambassador to Korea W. P. McConaughty, now Assistant Secy. of State for Far Eastern Affairs, told the press that his country would "spare no effort to help Japan and the ROK normalize diplomatic relations." The new U.S. Ambassador in Tokyo, Edwin O. Reischauer (a specialist on Korea), and Secretary of State Rusk also built up pressure for Japanese economic penetration of South Korea.

**JAPAN WILLING:** Former Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi, in a meeting with government leaders April 11, issued the following statement (Tokyo **Mainichi News**, April 20) indicating U.S. success on the Japanese side as well: "Japan should by all means prevent South Korea and Taiwan from falling under the influence of the Communist camp. From this point of view, the meeting agreed that Japan should now make all efforts to prop up the Chang Myun regime. Japan should be prepared to make economic concessions in order to achieve this end."

In its timetable for resumption of Japan-South Korea diplomatic relations and the inauguration of Japanese capital export to substitute for the $250,000,000 annual subsidy to South Korea, the U.S. miscalculated two crucial factors: (1) Anti-Japanese sentiment in Korea, born of 40 years of brutal oppression, that was strong enough to force the cancellation of at least one major Japanese trade mission to Seoul last January; (2) The complete failure of the Chang government to meet the deteriorating economic and political crisis.

The roots of the military coup, then, lie in the loss of confidence by the U.S. in the Chang government's ability to prevent another popular "April" revolt by Korea's students and progressives—a revolt which in contrast with last year's would be anti-American. Rightist military groups opposed Chang because corrupt bureaucrats had prevented them from getting a sizable share in the spoils of U.S. aid.

**NO SURPRISE:** Rumors of a military takeover were rife in Seoul's tearooms as early as February. Washington's "surprise" on May 16 can only be put down to hypocrisy. A **UPI** dispatch from the Korean capital (**Mainichi**, May 19) said: "The State Department had been alerted more than a month ago to the possibility of a military coup and gave general policy guidance at that time to the U.S. Embassy and military command."

When Gen. Magruder, the U.S. military commander, was asked to intervene in support of Chang Myun on the eve of the revolt, **UPI** reported (New York **Herald Tribune**, May 18) that he "refused so quickly he could not have stopped to consult Washington. Presumably, he acted under standing orders for such a situation."

The protestations of support for Chang that the American Embassy in Seoul and the Military Command gave on the eve of the coup are revealed as lip service to legitimacy. Only 4,000 of Korea's 600,000 troops participated in the overthrow, and 50,000 American troops were restricted to their compounds when even a token show of force would have sent the rebels back to bed.

If Chang was a pushover, the students and progressives still have to be reckoned with by the military junta that took power. The junta imprisoned 3,000 Koreans, largely on charges of "pro-communism"; outlawed all political parties and trade unions, and suppressed all but a handful of newspapers and magazines. It now proposes to abrogate the 11-month-old Constitution. The Rhee police state pattern has been reimposed.

An important factor in the timing of the revolt was the nationwide unification demonstrations students had scheduled for May 20, the Saturday following the coup. Needless to say, they were not held. **Asahi News** (May 18) got to the heart of the matter: "The success or failure of the coup is not yet known. However, it is correct to say that an effective brake has been applied to the movements for North-South unification."

Temporarily, the U.S. has kept Korea as a satellite. It has saddled the Korean people with another oppressive dictatorship that has not the slightest chance of surviving.

A Japanese reporter in Seoul, describing 50,000 Seoul citizens who were watching a show of the junta's strength, wrote:

"The people's expressions were cold and stern. Only a very few were clapping their hands. And even those who cheered seemed to be doing so rather out of their hatred of the defunct Chang Myun, than from their support of the coup." (**Yomiuri**, May 19).

# Dominican Republic

*(Continued from Page 1)*

critical of a policy of support of the current Dominican regime as "morally unsound and politically unrealistic." Szulc said the U.S. may find itself backing the wrong horse again. The picture of the rule of President Balaguer as a possible transition to democracy was called by exiles "dangerous acceptance of a political illusion."

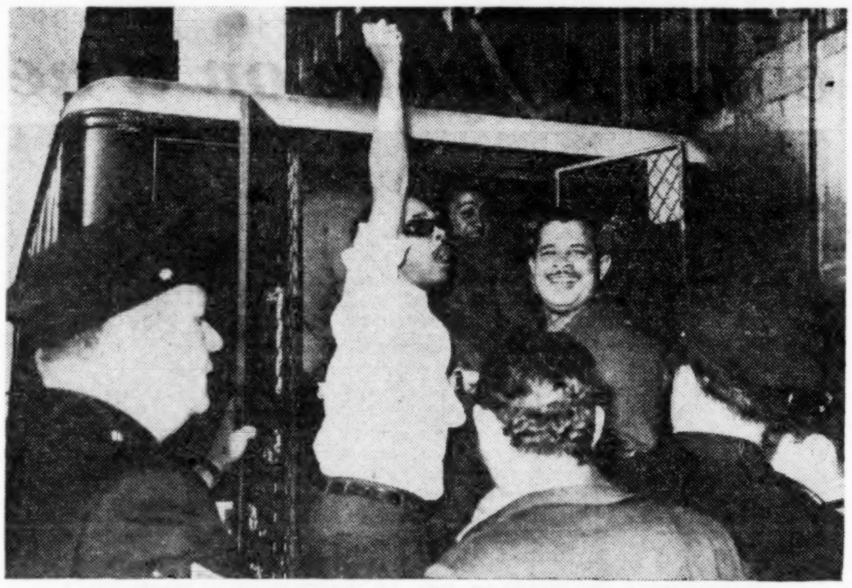
**THE REACTION:** Official U.S. reaction to the events were: (1) a one-day delay of Secretary of State Dean Rusk's trip to join President Kennedy in Paris; (2) issuance of the following U.S. statement on June 2: "It is our earnest hope that now the people of the Dominican Republic will be able to establish those conditions which will make it possible for that country to again take its proper place within the inter-American system"; (3) a request to the Organization of American States to send a fact-finding team to the island; (the Dominican government agreed to cooperate with an O.A.S. fact-finding team June 5); (4) placing of the U.S. Navy on "alert" in the Caribbean (several members of the U.S. Congress called for sending in the Marines); (5) a State Dept. request to the Immigration Service that no Dominicans be allowed to leave this country.

U.S. relations with the Dominican Republic have been unsavory since 1916 when the Marines occupied the country to collect foreign obligations of the Dominican government. While there they trained the Dominican National Guard, and a Marine Corps officer, Col. Richard M. Cutts, took Trujillo under his wing.

**THE AR 42:** The Marines left the island in 1924, but continued to maintain a training camp. Trujillo established absolute authority by use of a strong-arm squad called the AR 42, after the Forty-second Company of U.S. Marines.

Trujillo became President in 1930 and held the office without elections until 1938. He was elected in 1938. He stepped down from 1942 to 1947; then he reassumed the Presidency until 1952. As Chief of State and with the Army and four secret service organizations in his personal control, he held absolute power at all times.

Life for Trujillo went relatively smoothly until a world outcry in 1937 when Trujillo massacred between 5,000 and 10,000 Haitian workers. The U.S. then influenced Trujillo to pay an indemnity of about $75 per worker to the families of the murdered. Substantial business interests were developed by U.S. businessmen in the next few years, with American investments currently at $250,000,000.



**REACTION IN NEW YORK TO THE SLAYING OF A DICTATOR**
*Trujillo foes were arrested after a disturbance at Dominican consulate*

**THE GALINDEZ CASE:** Relations were strained in 1956 when Dr. Jesus de Galindez, Columbia University instructor and opponent of Trujillo, disappeared from a New York street. Thereafter Gerald Murphy, an American implicated in the abduction of Galindez, disappeared and his room-mate, a Dominican pilot, died leaving a suicide note of doubtful authenticity. In 1957 Ramfis did not improve relations when he spent lavishly on Hollywood stars while in the U.S. for military training. His allowance in this country amounted to about $1 million, a sum that equaled U.S. aid to the Dominican government. Ramfis reportedly harbors anti-U.S. feeling because he was flunked out of military college here.

The State Dept. went through another difficult period in June, 1960, when the OAS issued a report citing "flagrant and widespread violation of human rights" in the Dominican Republic.

After an assassination attempt on the life of President Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, Latin American countries were insistent on a break in diplomatic relations and the imposition of economic sanctions. They flatly rejected a U.S. suggestion that the OAS supervise elections in the Dominican Republic as an alternative to a break. The break was made.

**THE PEOPLE'S LOT:** During his reign Trujillo made several improvements in the country and amassed a huge personal fortune. He built schools (there were 859 in 1936 and 2,697 in 1950), roads, bridges, hospitals and a new and clean capital city. With surface prosperity and a balanced budget he was able to impress many foreign visitors.

Thomas Wolfe of the Washington **Post** (11/30/60) pointed out, however, that the life of the average Dominican was not easy. From the 1950 census he reported the following figures: Of a work force of 825,607, there were 17% unemployed; 14% unpaid family workers and 38% "working on their own account," i.e., peddlers, piece-work laborers and business and professional men (4%). Only 27% of the work force earned regular wages or salaries. Of these 6% were listed as industrial workers who averaged $7.52 per week.

Wolfe said that with some costs slightly higher than in Washington, D.C., a family of four earning the average of $448 a year could live comfortably for four months. In contrast, he said, the Trujillo family and friends—totaling about 8,500 men, women and children—had a per capita income of $35,000.

**VAST HOLDINGS:** Trujillo himself acquired a fortune estimated at about $800,000,000. He and his family controlled 60% of the $55 million sugar industry; 50% of the privately owned land; salt and gypsum mines; the cement plant, flour mill, textile industry, glass factory, fertilizer plant; all but two of the auto and truck agencies; the newspapers, radio and television; all but two banks; transportation companies; insurance firms; the merchant marine fleet; most of the milk, cotton and sisal production, and the fishing industry. An American businessman said: "And the Dominican Navy helps catch the fish." In addition, Trujillo controlled the export associations through which goods must be purchased in order to be sold abroad.

How did he maintain power? After a visit in 1957, Milton Bracker of the New York **Times** analyzed it this way:

"For regardless of overt or violent repression, there is something in the Dominican Republic as bad and in some respects worse. There is fear. It is an emotion that pervades the island—and extends beyond its borders. It is generated by a governmental philosophy of 'security' known to be based on these points:

"Never do things half way.

"Be as tough as you have to; be prepared to be tougher.

"Maintain more power than you need to show."

**IN THE FUTURE:** The country was Trujillo's private preserve. His army patrolled the streets; plainclothesmen were everywhere; hotel rooms were wired; telephones were tapped; the secret police were so prevalent that some revolutionaries were betrayed by their comrades as insurance against their own betrayal because anyone could be an agent.

In the June 1 Washington **Post** Wolfe wrote of Trujillo: **"Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina was known as a dictator. The word is too pale. The man was a sultan, a khan, a pharaoh, a totalitarian among totalitarians. Probably no man in history ever bent a single nation more completely and personally to his own will . . ."**

Some U.S. observers say that a people which has lived in terror for 30 years, forced to pay homage to a tyrant, is not ready for democracy or may not be able to organize a revolt. But Dominican revolutionaries in exile here think differently.

"The stage is set, and it will come," members of the Dominican Liberation Front say. "We don't want intervention from any country; we want the solidarity of the world's people, that's all." On the future they say:

"We are hopeful, because the State Dept. is nervous."

RESORTS

**CAMP KINDERLAND Still Has**
**Several Openings Available in Some of the Age Groups**
CALL CAMP OFFICE FOR INFORMATION:
1 Union Square West, N.Y. AL 5-6283

**HOTEL CAPITOL**
*Livingston Manor, N.Y.*
**"The Best Location For Your Vacation"**
**Modern Hotel, redecorated and improved. All sports — rowing, fishing, swimming, lake on premises, folk dancing, other entertainment. — SPECIAL: MAY & JUNE: $36 per week and up.**
**MODERATE JULY & AUG. RATES!**
Call Livingston Manor 194 or 195

**MAPLE VILLA**
**BUNGALOW COLONY**
**PLATTEKILL, N. Y.**
'Garden Spot of the Hudson Valley.' A summer community with a full time supervised day camp on 75 acres of fruit land, only about an hour from N.Y.C. via Thruway to Newburgh. — Completely furnished with modern facilities. Two filtered swimming pools, all sports, fishing, dancing, TV, children's playgrounds, lakes & boating. Teen-age program.
Write for brochure.
**MAPLE VILLA, R.F.D. No. 3, Wallkill, N.Y.**
or Telephone Newburgh: JO 1-0848
N.Y.C. — HY 7-4929 or BU 2-2134

SAN FRANCISCO

**PICNIC!**
• Swimming • Prizes
• Entertainment
**HALLINAN ESTATE**
**Ross, California**
**Sunday, June 25, 10 to 6**
Bring your lunch or buy your munch
Auspices: **San Francisco Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Comm. Box 2615—San Francisco, Calif.**

NEW YORK

**SPANISH**
Native teacher. Intensive conversational method. Best on earth, designed to meet your personal needs. Groups organized to insure desired fast program. AT YOUR HOME OR OFFICE.
Senor Caliban CH 8-6259

RESORTS

**STARS & STARS AT CHAITS!**
We love the bright young stars of the stage, concert and supper-club worlds who entertain here professionally and then more than "return" their fees by recommending Chaits to their friends! Thanks again to **Leonid Hambro** (WQXR's witty composer-pianist), sophisticated **Elly Stone** (did you see her in The Village Gate's "O Oysters"?), Indian dancer **Bhaskar** (now in the King of the Dark Chamber), calypso artist **Steve De Pass**, comedians **Bernie West** and **Marshall Izen**, the flamenco dancer **Pilar Gomez** — blues singer **Brownie McGhee** and harmonica genius **Sonny Terry** . . . and the companies of "The Zoo Story" and "The Mime and Me" . . . We hope to see many of you (and other fine artists) back again this summer on Chaits' stage.
**CHAIT'S HOTEL**
**ACCORD 1, N.Y.**
**Tel: Kerhonkson 7373**

RESORTS

**JOIN WORLD FELLOWSHIP in NEW HAMPSHIRE'S WHITE MOUNTAINS**
**June 30 to September 4**

Enjoy the lakes, forests and mountains. You can swim, fish, row, hike, take picnic trips, folk-dance, attend summer theater. Best of all, you can meet friendly people and talk about subjects close to your heart.

**First Three Weeks of Summer Program:**
July 3- 7: Our Heritage of Freedom—Victor Rabinowitz.
July 10-14: Cuba, Latin America, and the U.S.A.—Helen & Scott Nearing.
July 17-20: New Economic Frontiers—Leader to be announced.
Continuing: July 24-28, to be announced; July 31-Aug. 4, Action for Integration, the Rev. Wm. Howard Melish; Aug. 7-11, China and the Peace of the World, the Ricketts and Ida Pruitt; Aug 14-18, Africa, leader from Ghana; Aug. 21-25, Labor and Building the Peace, Ernest Mazey; Aug. 28-Sept. 1, Building the Peace, Mary Weik; Sept. 2-4, the U.S.A. and Africa, Angie Dickerson.

*Generous family-style meals. Board, lodging and program $5.50 to $8.50 daily. Family rates.—Make reservations early.*
For full information write:
**WORLD FELLOWSHIP, Conway, New Hampshire**
**DR. WILLARD UPHAUS, director**

*Only a Few Rental Units Left!*
**GOLDENS BRIDGE COLONY, Goldens Bridge, N.Y.**
Progressive and cultural program for adults, including dance, drama, arts and crafts, and chorus groups. Sat. evening professional programs. 8-acre private lake, protected.
**DAY CAMP — NURSERY — TEEN PROGRAM**
Easy Commuting: 1-hr. to N.Y.C. by car; 1¼-hrs. to Grand Central. Directions: Take Saw Mill River Parkway to Goldens Bridge, turn right on Route 138 for ½ mile. Rental Agent at lake each Sat. and Sun., 11 a.m. to 5 p.m.
FOR INFORMATION CALL: OL 2-1990

***Send a sub to a friend—$1 for 13 weeks***

BOOKS

# The Bowery man's way

ELMER BENDINER'S book on New York's Skid Row* is as stimulating as the articles that appeared in the past in the GUARDIAN under his by-line. Explaining why he chose the Bowery as his subject, Bendiner writes:

"The Bowery interested me as a place with a way of life inherent in it . . . I came to know [the men there] as individuals and to learn that their way of life—or way out of life—is not without reason. I found the Bowery Man above all a Man—and not too far removed from the Organization Man."

Having studied the locale for some years, he describes the Bowery as "a world without tension achieved without tranquilizers. . . . Preachers may plead with you to see the light, but you have already seen the dark and you prefer it." The one tranquilizer in use, cheap alcohol, is generally used sparingly, he says, and in a manner of social drinking. Sex is absent to a noticeable degree. The "Bowery Men need a place where an effortless going to hell is the accepted way of life. They need a place where no one requires anything of them, where no one ever says 'You can do better' . . . They need the sweet delights of hopelessness, and anyone who seeks to energize them with hope betrays them, for he calls their spirit into action."

PART SOCIAL STUDY and part vivid journalistic description, the book has three chapters on the history of the street and one on the work done on Bowery Man by psychiatrists, sociologists and statisticians. Though not among the best chapters, they are well put together and help give depth and meaning to the rest. The colorful, flamboyant, sinful past is a contrasting background to the drab present, when the hoboes and tramps have vanished and only the bums (the "Home Guard," as the migratory ones called them) remain.

Readers may find surprises in both the psychiatry and the statistics. For example: "More than three-quarters of the [Bowery's] regular derelict population are white and native-born, often tracing a native American lineage far back into their coun-

try's history . . . There are many Irishmen . . . very few Italians or Jews, and almost no Chinese." The infrequent Negroes are freer of neuroses than their white brothers.

MOST INTERESTING are those chapters in which the author is simply a reporter strolling purposefully along the Street, giving his pungent, graphically presented version of what he sees. He follows the Bowery Men into flophouses and the "Muni" (Municipal Lodging House), catches them "carrying the banner" (sleeping in doorways) and meets them trading in a "thieves' market." He follows them through the nightly processing at the Salvation Army's Bowery Mission. He visits the Catholic Worker House and talks with its founder, Dorothy Day, and chief worker, Ammon Hennacy.

Then, carefully avoiding the use of the word "type," he gives full-length, illuminating treatment to one Bowery Man whom he calls Thomas Finn. "I didn't commit no crime," Finn says, "no moral crime and no legal crime, right? What I did, I did only to myself, see?" Finn's "success story" begins with his escape from the trammels of a business and ends with his hospital stretch as one of the guinea pigs of the Department of Health. How he lives, what he does with his time, is told crisply, objectively.

BENDINER suggests a kinship between the Bowery Man and the ambitious, bustling type produced by Our Way of Life. "Those who no longer aspire, who do not wish to rise on anybody's shoulders, who do not wish to sell more, make more, show more" are linked by an obvious bond to "the businessman, the advertising executive, the cocktail-drinking wife, the harried suburbanite—the whole organization, brief - cased, golf-and-bridge, scotch-and-soda set. All understand that the major objective of life is tranquility, freedom from tension, and an end to worry."

What makes a Skid Row personality? . . . "A viewer who is appalled at his reflection should perhaps look for the fault outside of the mirror," Bendiner says.

"Preposterous!" he adds ironically.

—Ruth Mahoney

*THE BOWERY MAN, by Elmer Bendiner. Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York and Toronto, 187 pp. Illustrated with photographs. $3.50.*

HIS WAY OF LIFE IS MOSTLY A WAY OUT
*The Bowery goal is total disengagement*

# Recipe for boredom

HOW TO WRITE still another book* on the hell of suburbia: Choose a different spot of hell, in this case the "mobile" suburb, where people keep moving in, and out and up and down "status-wise." Look up the local hospital statistics on ulcers and hypertension. Generalize, shaking head constantly. Select eight case histories of persons whose psyches have been minced in the up-and-down (or in-and-out) social slicers and describe them at some length, doing whatever you can do to minimize the obvious fact that eventually the same psyches would probably have collapsed in Elysium. Proceed to their "cures." Then outline "Nine Techniques of Emotional Adjustment," piling cheerful commonsense upon brisk platitude, topped with a bit of clinical patter and sprinkled (rather desperately) with as frequent references to "the mobile life," "mobile girls," and "mobile boys" as the discourse can decently stand.

By then you are miles away from the particular problems of the particular hell originally chosen, but you were never very close anyway. And you do have a book. Perhaps—who knows?—it will serve to comfort the city dwellers, whose ulcers bleed uncounted, who may suffer from problems related to the sexual urge but do not hear them described in terms of "the arousal-control mechanism," and whose mobility is a problem only when it runs up against the transportation system.

—Barbara Giles

**THE SPLIT-LEVEL TRAP, by Richard E. Gordon, M.D., Katherine K. Gordon, M.D., and Max Gunther. Bernard Geis Associates, 342 pp. $4.95.*

PUBLICATIONS

Just Published!
PETE SEEGER'S SONGBOOK
American Favorite BALLADS
An outstanding collection of the folk songs America loves best in the versions sung by one of our country's finest folksingers.
Illustrated 96 pages
Paper: $1.95 Cloth: $3.95
OAK PUBLICATIONS
121 W. 47 St. N.Y.C.
Free catalog on request

NEW YORK

You are cordially invited to a major publishing event
A New Book by
GEORGE MORRIS
"American Labor—Which Way?"
Reception • Entertainment • Buffet
Fri., June 16 6-10 p. m.
The Author will autograph copies of his new book
Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Ave.
Room 10-B Cor. 14th St.
Auspices: Buffet $1.25
New Century Publishers

*Imperative reading!*
*A new pamphlet by CORLISS LAMONT*
The CRIME against CUBA
Who committed it? Who engineered it? Corliss Lamont tells here the full story of how the United States Government • trained, paid, and supplied anti-Castro forces for their invasion of Cuba • kidnaped left-wing Cuban exiles and held them incommunicado during the invasion • conspired to circumvent Congressional or public influence on foreign policy • repeatedly lied to the press and the public • threw democracy and legality overboard by violating treaty agreements, our own neutrality laws, and even our Constitution.
This pamphlet holds important lessons for every American.
*Single copy, 10c; 7 copies, 50c; 15 copies, $1.00; 50 or more, 40% discount*
BASIC PAMPHLETS,
Dept. G, Box 42, Cathedral Station, N.Y. 25

NEW YORK

1000 Tropical Suits
$50-55 Suits just $10-15!
HARRY has just received 1,000 superb wash 'n wear tropical suits, some with slight imperfections that even your wife or best girl wouldn't notice. Every one is yours for $10-15! All sizes, all colors, Ivy - league 3 - button styles, mohair, dacron-wool, you name it we've got it.
Come in *now* for the best choice
HARRY'S Clothes Shop
"The Corner Store"
104 Third Ave., cor. 13th St.
New York City
GR 5-9183
Open till 7 P.M.

NEW YORK

INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN DESIGNS OF STAINLESS STEEL
At Our Usually Low Prices
You Get So Much For So Little At
Pottery of all nations

108 7th Ave. So. [at W. 4th St.]
647 Lex. Ave. Midtown Man.
W. 137, Rt. 4, Paramus, N. J.
Hours: 10-10 WA 9-2666

NEW YORK

Pete Seeger
On the Guardian Boat Ride!
Thursday, June 22, 7-10:30 P.M.
The good ship S.S. NATIONAL GUARDIAN will put to sea again Thurs. Eve., June 22. You'll sail round the island and up the Hudson under the stars, to the rollicking songs of PETE SEEGER. Make your reservations now! Refreshments aboard, or bring your own.
Adults $3.50 Under 12 $2.50
GUARDIAN BOAT RIDE OR 3-3800
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.
Please send me .......... tickets at $..........
and .......... tickets at $.......... Enclosed, $..........
NAME ..........
ADDRESS ..........
CITY .......... ZONE .......... STATE ..........

## Curb on Communists

*(Continued from Page 1)*

Attorney General the names of all its officers and members for the past year and a full accounting of all money received and spent, including the source of funds. Upon registering, the CP loses all tax exemptions; it must stamp all its mail "Disseminated by the Communist Party, a Communist organization"; its members are barred from government employment and may not even apply for a passport; and naturalized citizens who join the organization within five years of their naturalization can lose their citizenship.

**BASIC ARGUMENT:** The majority did not consider any of the legal consequences of registration, holding that they could be tested later. It is likely that a basic defense argument—that forced disclosure will violate the protection against self-incrimination in the Fifth Amendment—will still be fought out in the courts.

The majority opinion did rule, however, that forced registration does not violate the First Amendment in the case of CP: "When existing government is menaced by a world-wide integrated movement which employs every combination of possible means, peaceful and violent, domestic and foreign, overt and clandestine, to destroy the government itself—the legislative judgment as to how that threat may best be met consistently with the safeguarding of personal freedom is not to be set aside merely because the judgment of judges would, in the first instance, have chosen other methods." (Frankfurter's language.)

Justices Brennan and Douglas agreed that registration does not violate the First Amendment, but thought that it would violate Fifth Amendment rights. Chief Justice Warren would have set the registration order aside on grounds not touching constitutional issues, but agreed that Fifth Amendment rights were involved.

**NO DUE PROCESS:** Only Justice Hugo Black found the entire Internal Security Act unconstitutional; he said that it is an act of outlawry, a bill of attainder, a denial of due process of law and a violation of the First Amendment. He said:

"The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fateful moment in the history of a free country. That moment seems to have arrived for this country."

The Smith Act ruling upheld the conviction of Junius Irving Scales, a former CP leader in North Carolina now under a sentence of six years. His first conviction in 1955 was reversed by the Supreme Court on a technicality; it heard argument in the case twice since then. The membership clause makes it a crime to belong to any group advocating overthrow of the government by force or violence, "knowing the purpose thereof." The law also specifies that, to be convicted, a person must be an "active" member and must have a "specified intent to bring about violent overthrow."

The majority reversed a conviction against John Francis Noto of Buffalo on the ground of insufficient evidence.

**BELIEFS ONLY:** Justice Douglas in his dissent in the Scales case said there was "no charge of any overt act to overthrow the government by force and violence." He added: "Nothing but beliefs are on trial in this case. They are unpopular and to most of us revolting. But they are nonetheless ideas or dogmas or faith within the broad framework of the First Amendment."

The government has obtained indictments against 16 persons under the membership clause of the Smith Act; nine of these were among the CP leaders originally convicted under the "conspiracy to advocate" provisions of the Smith Act. Action in these cases has been held in abeyance awaiting the outcome of the Scales case. The new decision could mark the start of widespread prosecutions.

The same is true of the registration proceedings under the Internal Security Act. The Subversive Activities Control Board has been marking time in a number of cases against so-called "Communist-front" groups awaiting the outcome of the case against the CP itself.

Attorneys John J. Abt of New York and Joseph Forer of Washington represented the CP in the registration case; Abt alone represented Noto. Telford Taylor of New York was the attorney for Scales.

JUNIUS I. SCALES
*His test was lost*

## *Legend of Greece*

GREECE IS A suburb of Rochester, N.Y., and a fallout shelter was proposed to go with the new school that was to be built. A $5½ million bond issue for the school and $65,000 for the fallout shelter was on a referendum. The Independent Political Forum became concerned and went into action.

They had a meeting for members and supporters in the area. They wrote to the paper. They got a public information meeting called. The got permission to present the reasons for not having a fallout shelter, at the public meeting. They handed out Gov. Meyner's article at the meeting.

They got important people to support their request for an information meeting and kept things jumping in the press. Thus people were confronted and could ask questions. The bond issue was divided because there was some fear that the shelter might hurt passage of the basic desire for a school. The results were 2-1 for the school and 2-1 against the shelter.

—**Peace Newsletter**
$1 a year, 841 University Bldg.
Syracuse 2, N.Y.

## Gojack wins a review of contempt conviction

THE SUPREME COURT on June 5 granted a review to John T. Gojack, Ohio trade unionist, who was sentenced to nine months for contempt of Congress after he refused to answer questions put by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1955. His refusal was based on First Amendment guarantees of free speech.

The U.S. Court of Appeals last year upheld Gojack's conviction. The Supreme Court will hear arguments in the case in its fall term.

SMITH ACT VICTIMS

## A third trial for the Denver Six

FOR A SECOND TIME a Federal Court of Appeals has reversed the convictions against six defendants in the Denver Smith Act case and has ordered a third trial.

During the second trial the Justice Department refused to make available to defense attorneys about 700 documents about which testimony had been given. The appeals court ruled that the late U.S. District Judge Lee Knous was in error for not examining the documents and deciding if the defense could have access to them.

Only two of the defendants still live in Denver, and only one is still a member of the Communist Party. The six are Arthur Bary of San Jose, Calif.; Anna Correa of Denver, Harold Zepelin of Denver, Joseph Scherrer and his wife Maia of New York, and Mrs. Patricia Blau of El Paso, Tex.

**FREE ON BAIL:** They had been sentenced to terms ranging from two-and-a-half to five years and fines from $1,500 to $5,000. All are free on bail.

The Denver six were indicted in 1954 and were first convicted in 1955. That verdict was set aside and a new trial ordered after the 1957 Supreme Court Smith Act ruling in the Yates case. The second trial began in January, 1959, and ended in April of that year. The Denver case is the only active one under the conspiracy provisions of the Smith Act; convictions under the membership clause of the act are still on appeal.

NEW YORK

SOVIET EXHIBITION OF
*CHILDREN'S BOOKS*
A Soviet Exhibition of Children's Books, organized under the SOVIET-AMERICAN cultural exchange program will be opened
**JUNE 10 at the NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY**
**(Fifth Avenue at 42nd St.)**
*It will also appear in Cleveland in July and Denver in August*
More than 2,000 books, published by Soviet publishing houses, both fiction and non-fiction, by Soviet and foreign authors, will be on display.
*You are welcome to visit the exhibition*
**HOURS: MON. through SAT., 9 a.m. to 10 p.m.**
**SUNDAYS: 1 p.m. to 10 p.m.**

*Empty closets, protect winter garments with*
BOX STORAGE
GUARDIAN READERS: Do you know about box storage? Here's the way it works: We'll pick up your soiled winter coats, suits, blankets, children's garments, etc., clean and mothproof them at our regular economy prices, and put them in your private box in storage. In the Fall we'll deliver them to you freshly pressed. Storage charge? Just $3.50 for all the items in your box. Furs cleaned, glazed and stored in certified cold storage. We service New York City, Westchester and Long Island. Call us today to arrange your future pickup date.
**SLAYTON CLEANERS, 1565 York Av., (cor. 83) NYC**
*FREE! Just telephone us for a Zipper Wax Pencil to assure smoothly working zippers!*
UN 1-1888

NEW YORK

**RALLY!**
to defend Francisco Molina, young Cuban framed on a murder charge.
FRI., JUNE 16, 8 P.M.
**Cornish Arms Hotel**
23rd St. and 8th Ave.
Air Cond. Don. $1.

The Los Angeles National Guardian Committee
*presents*
**DR. ISIDORE ZIFERSTEIN**
in a "SECOND LOOK AT THE SOVIET MAN"
Dr. Ziferstein, prominent L.A. psychiatrist, recently back from his second visit in two years to the U.S.S.R,
**Chmn. LESTER COLE**
**THURS. EVE. JUNE 29**
Institute of the Aerospace Sciences
7660 Beverley Blvd. (cor. Stanley)
Air Cond. Free Parking
Meeting begins promptly at 8:30. Doors open at 7:30
ADM. $1. STUDENTS 50c.
*For information: WE 3-0114*

IN MEMORIAM

*Friends will share our sorrow in the death of our beloved*
**SONIA RESIKA**
On May 28 in London en route home
R. A. Resika and Paul

LOS ANGELES

*Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice presents*
**DR. ISIDORE ZIFERSTEIN** speaking on
**"The Oslo Peace Conference"**
FRIDAY, JUNE 16 8 P.M. DONATION $1.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St., L.A.

**INSURANCE**
for honest, competent counsel on ALL your needs consult
**BEN KARR**
ALBERT C. BRICKER & ASSOCIATES
Complete Insurance Service
760 S. Park View St., L. A. 57
DUnkirk 2-7331

**ATLAS OPTICAL CO.**
*M. Franklin (Maury) Mitchell*
O P T I C I A N
610 S. Broadway Los Angeles
Suite 405 MAdison 2-3530
QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES
Park Free -1 hr., Pershing Sq. Gar.

CHICAGOANS
FOR SECURE PROTECTION: Phone
**LOU BLUMBERG**
HArrison 7-5496
INSURANCE FOR HOME OR BUSINESS - LIFE - AUTO - FIRE - HEALTH
330 S. WELLS STREET

*Can you use a bundle of Guardians for mass distribution? Write us!*

# CALENDAR

## BAY AREA

Another Guardian Forum: — WHAT ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT? Speakers: Philip Eden, ILWU Research Dept.
FRIDAY — JULY 7 — 8 P.M.
United Nations Hall, 160 Grand Ave., Oakland. Ausp: SONG (Supporters of Natl. Guardian)

Picnic, swimming, entertainment, prizes at HALLINAN ESTATE, ROSS, CALIF.
SUNDAY, JUNE 25, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.
"Bring your lunch, buy your munch." Guest speaker. Benefit: S. F. Bay Area, Fair Play for Cuba Comm.

## LOS ANGELES

"The Song of Freedom" for
MORTON SOBELL
Honoring Mrs. Sophie Davidson.
Guest Speaker: Mrs. Rose Sobell
Dinner $2.50 - Music
SUNDAY, JUNE 18, at 6 P.M.
First Unitarian Church—Channing Hall
Reservations: WE 9-7622
Ausp: L. A. Sobell Committee.

A GUARDIAN EVENING AT THE ASH-GROVE with ORANIM ZABAR, celebrated Israeli Musical Group featuring famed GEULA GILL. Also LEN WEINRIB of the BILLY BARNES REVUE & the BILLY BARNES PEOPLE.
SATURDAY, JUNE 17—8 p.m.
Only $2. Send check for reservations to Jack Fox, 5167 Pickford St., L.A. 19. Phone WE 3-0114. Please order early. Enclose stamped, addressed envelope.

## MILWAUKEE

JULY 4th ALL-NATIONS PICNIC—
CALDWELL WOODS, GROVE 26
Milwaukee & Devon—By CTA to end of Milwaukee line—Big swimming pool
Dancing — Fine barbecued foods
Ausp: Midwest Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born DE 2-3835

## NEW YORK

PETE SEEGER on the Guardian Boat-ride—Thursday, 7 p.m., June 22. $3.50 over 12. — $2.50 under. Call or write: Guardian. 197 E. 4th St. OR 3-3800

GUARDIAN NIGHT. THURS., JULY 27 Off-Broadway hit, Genet's "The Blacks." Price: $5 & $6. Call Theodora Peck, OR 3-3800, or write to the National Guardian, 197 E. 4 St., NYC 9.

Is CUBA Kennedy's New Frontier?
Is Cuba really a threat to us?
Hear the answers
WED., — JUNE 28 — 8 P.M.
- Richard Gibson, Exec. Secy., FPCC
- William Worthy, Balt. Afro-American
- James Higgins, Editor, York Gazette & Daily
- John T. McManus, Gen. Mgr., Natl. Guardian

at the LIVINGSTON, 305 Schermerhorn St., Bklyn (near Nevins St.) Adm. $1; Students 50c.
ENTERTAINMENT • PETE SEEGER
Ausp: Bklyn Council of Peace Groups
97 Brooklyn Ave.—PR 1-7925.

WED., THURS., FRI., JUNE 14, 15, 16 Two outstanding Russian films with Eng. titles. "THE NEW NUMBER IN MOSCOW," a gay film with circus numbers, plus the musical comedy, "THE SCRAPPER." — AMERICAN THEATER, 238 E. 3rd St. (Bet. Aves B&C) Adm. 75c. CA 8-6875.

COME TO A GALA WEEKEND AT CAMP MIDVALE, WANAQUE, N.J.
June 17 & 18
Sat.—Bon Voyage Party for Sam & Molly Allen. Sun.—Hike with us into the mountains to see the mountain laurel in bloom. The kiddies will enjoy it. Bring a box lunch. Stay overnite with your family. Admission: $1.50, includes late buffet supper & entertainment.

**NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS**
Display ads should reach the National Guardian no later than Mondays. If Tuesday is a legal holiday such ads should reach us no later than the previous Friday.

AROUND THE WORLD WITH FOOD & TUNE—7th Annual All-Nations Picnic, American Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, SUN., JUNE 25, Camp Midvale, N.J.

"SHOOTING FOR THE MOON"
Analysis of the first 4 months of the Kennedy Administration. Speaker: Tom Kerry, Labor Editor, Militant. SAT., JUNE 10—8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. (off Union Sq.) Adm. $1. Students & Unemp. 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

SPRING STRAWBERRY FESTIVAL & PICNIC
SUNDAY, JUNE 11, — From Noon on Croton Park Colony — Norma's Grounds FOOD & ENTERTAINMENT. Take Saw Mill River P'kway or Bronx River P'kway to Hawthorne Circle. Then Taconic State to Route 202. Left on Rte. 202 about 2½ miles to AMERICAN service station on your left. Turn left in front of service station and take next possible left, straight up hill. Adm. $1. Children under 1[illegible] 50c. Bring guitars. Call UL 4-2942, da[illegible] of picnic for any last-minute questions.

RECEPTION COCKTAIL PARTY in honor of HENRY GOODMAN, editor, translator of THE NEW CENTURY, 60 stories by 24 Yiddish-American authors, 520 pp.
FRIDAY — JUNE 23 — 8:30 P.M.
SOUTHERN RESTAURANT, 213 Park Ave. So., NYC (18th St. & 4th Ave.)
Admission $1.

Friends will pay tribute to ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG on the 8th anniversary of their execution, SUN., JUNE 18, 12 p.m., at Wellwood Cemetery, Pinelawn, N.Y. For transportation & other information call Bella Halebsky, TUlip 1-1327, between 6 & 8 p.m. If you have a car and can take passengers, call above number.

HOW SAFE IS THE FOREIGN-BORN AMERICAN? Speaker: Marvin Stern, Leg. Dir., American Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, CENTRAL PLAZA ANNEX, 40 E. 7 St., (Nr. 2nd Ave.), Room BB, one flight down.
MONDAY, JUNE 19, 8 p.m.
Sponsor: Burning Issues (A disc. group for those in their 20's & 30's).

A NEW BOOK BY GEORGE MORRIS "AMERICAN LABOR—WHICH WAY?"
Reception: FRI., June 16—6-10 p.m. ADELPHI HALL, 74 5th Ave., Rm. 10-B. Entertainment. Buffet. Author will autograph copies. Ausp: New Century Pub.
Buffet: $1.25

# CLASSIFIED

## DETROIT

FOR ALL YOUR INSURANCE NEEDS
Phone TO 5-7500
MARGARET NOWAK
2634 Glendale, Detroit 38, Mich.

## LOS ANGELES

JACK FOX, L.A. Guardian representative, will give free one copy of "Clash of Cultures" by the Hallinans, to anyone subscribing or renewing sub to National Guardian. Call WE 3-0114.

## SAN FRANCISCO

SPARTACUS BOOKSTORE
Socialist & Labor Books & Periodicals
COMPLETE BOOK SERVICE
2331 Market St.

RADIO AND TELEVISION SERVICE
New Radios, TVs, HiFis for Sale
J. ARTHUR RAGSDALE
1526 27th Av. LO 6-4667
Discount to Guardian readers.

HOLIDAY'S BARBER SHOP
and
SKIN-DIVING EQUIPMENT
2368 Mission St. AT 5-0264

## BOOKS & PUBLICATIONS

SAVE WITH PAPERBACKS
11,000 titles 200 publishers
Every subject. Mail 25c for 132-page catalog. PAPERBACKS, BOX 2062, VENICE, CALIF.

GOLDENROD & OTHER STORIES by Judy Wood. (A Young White College Student's Fantasy Impressions of the Integration Struggle in Tenn.) Address: TALEBEARER BOOKS, P.O BOX 83 G, MOUNT VERNON, N.Y. 50c per copy; 3 copies for one dollar.

## RESORTS

Yes, SPRING is inviting you
to the "HILLBERG FARM"—
Reserve for SUMMER
Phones: Kerhonkson 8008-W
Kerhonkson, N.Y.

Vacation on the farm. Relax on 100 beautiful acres, lake or premises, wholesome food in abundance. Animals for the children. Perfect for families. Meet 30 other nice people. Adults $40; children $25 per week. Y. SCHWARTZ, SPRING MOUNTAIN HOUSE, Jeffersonville, N.Y.
PHONE: JEFFERSONVILLE 290

WHITE MOUNTAINS — Timms Lodge clean, quiet little place for the whole family to enjoy. Modern facilities, good food, sports & recreation. For information: Write, Mrs. J. Timms,, Box 135 Wentworth, N.H. Tel.: ROckwell 4-2544.

BRIEHL'S, WALLKILL, N.Y.
2 hours from NYC via Thruway. Scenic country. Informal atmosphere. Wholesome food. Homegrown vegetables. Private trout stocked lake. Free Boating. Swimming. Social Hall. Indoor-outdoor games Folder. TWINBROOK 5-2214.

HOLIDAY IN CANADA
Rustic cabins, fishing, boating, swimming, beautiful scenery. Write for information, LAMB'S CAMP, LACLU, ONT., CANADA.

## SUMMER RENTALS

"A Colony Fit for You" on Route 17, Exit 112.—There are still a few 2 or 3-room bungalows left. Day Camp, Folk dancing instruction, other cultural activities. Tennis, swimming, all sport facilities, new filtered pool and lake. NYC phone, NI 5-0682 or Woodridge 835. Mirth Colony, Mountaindale, N.Y.

MEYERS FARM—DUTCHESS CO.
Modern 2½-room bungalows & apts., screened porches. Swimming, recreation. Reasonable. Off Taconic P'kway. Left turn, D 18, Pumpkin Lane, CLINTON CORNERS, N.Y. Phone: CO 6-3481.

MODERN BUNGALOWS AND APARTMENTS. Swimming, boating, recreation hall. Reasonable. Kerhonkson, N. Y. HALPERN'S BUNGALOWS, Phone: Kerhonkson 3412, or SP 9-7164, NYC.

Lovely 3-room apt. on farm. Modern, completely furnished, all utilities. Swimming pool. 60 Mi. NYC. M. ELLMAN, WALDEN, N.Y.

TANGLEWOOD, ANYONE?
In modern, private home within walking distance, attractive twin bedroom. Breakfast. No other guests. Phone: LENOX, MASS. 1087 or write box TT c/o National Guardian, 197 E. 4 St., N.Y.C. 9.

Woman alone wishe to share modern 5-room home with couple or small family, progressive community, Peekskill vicinity. Call AC 2-7792.

## SUMMER CAMPS

ADVISORY SERVICE. Information on CHILDREN'S SUMMER CAMPS, designed to meet your needs and budgets—FREE. Over 25 years' experience in American Camps and Camping.
Phone or write: RAY BARNETT
825 West End Ave., N.Y. 25—AC 2-2721

## RESORTS

CAMP MIDVALE announces an extension of its new unique 5-week program for the second half of season. Bill McAdoo, Dir.

*An Adventure in Living, Working and Growing at Nature's Doorstep*

***A Cooperative, Interracial Camp***

LIMITED to fifteen boys between the ages of 12 and 15, who will experience the satisfaction and excitement of construction and creating in an atmosphere in which their work projects will have social as well as personal value.

FEE—Those selected will begin their activities July 2 for a period of five weeks (through August 6)—$175

*For further information write or call*

MIDVALE CAMP CORPORATION
Wanaque, N.J. Phone: (1-1) TE 5-2160

# NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

## MERCHANDISE

AIR CONDITIONERS
A few tax-exempt 1960 models left at 5% above carload cost. Prices as low as $115.50. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Avenue (near 14th St.) GR 3-7819 1-hour free parking.

LARGE SAVINGS ON MODERN FURNITURE! Good modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see
SMILOW-THIELLE
N.Y.C. 856 Lexington Av. LE 5-9232
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Av. WH 8-4788
Manhasset: 2046 Northern Blvd. MA 7-0444
Plainfield, N.J.: 311 E. Front St. PL 7-0111

MANY SPECIALS & BRIDAL GIFTS
Tremendous reductions on all imported and domestic gift items.
HELEN'S GIFT MART
287 Amsterdam Ave. (bet. 73-74 Sts.)

IN CHICAGO
Insurance—Every Kind
Professional Service
Plus Personal Interest
LEON KATZEN
330 S. Wells Street Chicago
Harrison 7-5496

Due to the pressure of advertising, the Gallery was dropped this week. It will return in this space next week.

'High wages are killing free enterprise!

HELEN'S CHINA OUTLET
all items at terrific savings
64-piece set in Autchenreuter Bavarian China
304 Amsterdam Av. (bet. 74-75 Sts.)

## HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

HOTEL ALBERT, 23 E. 10 St. N.Y.C. (near University Pl.). 400 modern rooms, kitchenette available. Full hotel & maid service. From $4 daily. Moderate weekly & monthly rates. Write for brochure or call OREGON 7-0100.

## SERVICES

INSURANCE
ALL KINDS
RENE M SCHENKER
292 Madison Ave., New York 17
MU 3-2837

IF TIRED OF MAPLE, WE CAN MAKE IT MAHOGANY OR ANY OTHER COLOR. Refinishing, Polishing, Repairing furniture in your home. FREE ESTIMATE Call evenings IN 9-6827.

UPHOLSTERY CRAFTSMAN
RE-WEBBING & REPAIRS—done in your home: Reupholstery, slip covers, drapes, foam rubber cushioning. Serving all boros. Fraternal attention. HY 8-7887.

BAKER & SON DECORATORS
Upholstery, furniture refinishing, polishing done in homes and offices.
1680 Fulton St., B'klyn SL 6-1842

RITEWAY COMPANY
UPHOLSTERED FURNITURE — CLEAN & SHAMPOO RUGS & CARPETS. SOFAS, CHAIRS REWEBBED. SEATS REBUILT. Work done on premises. Call weekdays after 6 p.m.; all day Sat. & Sun. UL 2-0148.

MOVING AND STORAGE
EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS
Profit by my 20 years' experience
Call ED WENDEL, JE 6-8100
on any moving problem.

BUSSIE BROTHERS (Union Movers)
Moving, storage local & long distance. We buy and sell new and used furniture 960 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn. Phone: BU 4-2988 (24 hours) or BU 2-3398.

BUDGET MOVERS & STORAGE: CH 3-7312. Station-wagon, vans—pickup service any time, any place—Insured. Estimates given.—Economical—PSC 859.

LIGHT MOVING
SHORT - LONG DISTANCE. Reasonable rates. Silver, OL 2-1595 or WA 4-5451

RED WAGON Moving, storage, packing, crating. Inexpensive, insured professional. Vans, trucks, station wagons.
Any time, any place.
RED WAGON SP 7-2555 PSC 768

TIME TO STORE YOUR FUR GARMENTS: If they are in need of remodeling or repair, the best place is MAX KUPERMAN, 315 7th Avenue, OR 5-7773. You can also get good buys at $$ savings.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET
MULTIGRAPHING
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-8160

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking for Spring & Summer Weddings, bar mitzvah, anniversary parties at home or temple. Office parties & home parties served anywhere in the metropolitan area. HU 7-1561.

TELEVISION & AIR CONDITIONING
UNIVERSITY TELEVISION SERVICE
(Bronx, Manhattan, Yonkers)
150 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx 63, N Y
CY 8-0420

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE
Written Guarantee — Itemized Bills
Prompt – Reliable – Reasonable
268 Bleecker St. Phone: WA 9-0813

HI FIDELITY SERVICE
On Monaural and Stereo Equipment
Installation and Repairs.
Tuners Aligned.
N. Weintraub IN 1-7459

## APARTMENT SUBLET

Lady has 3-room apt. from June 15th to Sept. 15th. Share later, optional. Botanical Garden Vicinity. OL 2-7476.

## APARTMENT TO SHARE

GIRL OVER 25, to share modern 4-room apt. on West 20 St. Separate bedroom, air-conditioned, doorman. Suitable 1 or 2 girls. Write Box AA, National Guardian, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.

Working Girl would like to share someone's apt. in Manhattan. Separate room needed. Write: Box GG, National Guardian, 197 E. 4 St., N.Y.C. 9.

## APARTMENT WANTED

Young Man seeks inexpensive furnished apt., summer or longer sublet, or room with shower. OR 4-8444.

## TRAVEL COMPANION

TRAVEL COMPANION
Is someone going to Los Angeles by plane the first week in July? Want flying companion for my daughter. CALL GR 7-0981 before 9 or after 6.

## JAZZ

VISIT "The Vine" — 41 Perry St.,
In The Village
Live Jazz Sundays, 3:30 to 7:30 p.m.
Recorded Jazz by request weekdays.
Relaxed, friendly atmosphere.

## Radio Prague

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
We should like to call to the attention of those of your readers to the new spring-summer short wave frequencies of Radio Prague's programs of world news and comment, reports on life in our socialist country and the music of the Czech and Slovak people.

Our most popular feature, Listeners' Club, is heard daily at 11 p.m. and 1 a.m. in the 9, 11 and 15 megacycle bands—that is, the 31, 35 and 19 meter bands.

A postcard to Radio Prague, Czechoslovakia, is all that is needed to obtain a complete program schedule.

May I take this opportunity to tell you that we find the NATIONAL GUARDIAN valuable for better knowledge of world, and especially American, developments.

Martha Trojanova
Editor

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

# June Gift Roundup

**GUATEMALA JACKET:** The **GBS** is glad that it was able to obtain this stunning, hand-woven jacket. This is a sturdy garment that will last for years. The background is white with Indian designs in black, blue, maroon or brown. Sizes 12, 14, 16, 18, 20. The **GBS** price is the lowest price anywhere ............ **Just $12**

**GUATEMALA SKIRT:** We saw our lovely hand-woven skirt selling for $15.75 in a N.Y.C. shop. A recent purchaser wrote: "I just received the skirt ordered from the **GBS.** It is lovely. I'm mightily pleased with it." Available in two combinations: All white designs on black, royal blue or red; multi-colored decorations on black, navy blue, grey or brown. Sizes: 24-26-28-30-32. A real bargain at .................... **$10**

**SOVIET WATCHES FOR WOMEN: SLAVA,** a dainty, feminine design with a 17-jewel movement and stainless steel back, gold - plated case. Comes without wristband — you can select your own. **GBS** Price ................................ **$24.95**
(plus $2.49 Fed. tax)

**MODEL "KREB":** 17-jewel rectangular model, stainless steel back, with an integral bracelet band. Gold plated case ........................ **$29.50**
(plus $2.95 Fed. tax)

## Three popular children's records

**WC 302—COME AND SEE THE PEPPERMINT TREE;** Lyrics and music by Evelyn D. Lohoefer, Donald McKayle, vocalist. The imagery of the lyrics and tunes, which shifts from simple, folk-like songs to imaginative little tone poems, will stir the creative impulses of child and parent alike. Here's an excellent new "participation" record for children from age four up.

"Highly recommended" —**Parents Magazine**

"A treasure . . . irresistible" —**Martha Graham**

"An imaginative record . . . a breath of freshness."—**New York Herald Tribune.**

**12" L.P.** .................. **$3.75**

**WC 301—TOM GLAZER CONCERT** with and for **CHILDREN;** One of America's finest folk singers in an actual performance with children.

". . . the best in children's records . . ." —**The New York Times**

". . . you and your children have a feast in store . . ." .....—Look Magazine.

**12" L.P.** .................. **$3.75**

**WC 303 — "SOMETIME — ANYTIME";** Words and music by Evelyn D. Lohoefer, Donald McKayle, vocalist, Lee Reynolds (from Popeye TV), Charlie Byrd on the guitar, plus flute, harmonica, percussion and piano. Charming, refreshingly original—sure to give many hours of enjoyment to youngsters.

**12" L.P.** .................. **$3.75**

**3 for $10**

**GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE**
**197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.**

| Description of Item | Amount |
|---|---|
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

**(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)**

**TOTAL**

**Orders filled only in the U.S.**

No COD's. Full payment must accompany each order. Please make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

Name ..............................................

Address ..............................................

City ...................... Zone ..... State ..............

When ordering items in color, always specify second color choice.

**NEWSPAPER**

# Polish Dolls

**A NEW PAIR OF PEASANT SISTERS.** Our dolls are hard to resist. Charming and quaint in their native costumes, one sister is 17" high, the other 13½". Stuffed body, composition head, these dolls will add to any little girl's delight. **Both for** .. .... .. .... .... .... **$3.65**

**TYPEWRITERS: OUR AZTEC AND OPTIMA** machines are built by gifted mechanics to give superb service. A special feature is the spring steel keys which will not go out of line. **GBS** buyers save as much as $55. The AZTEC "800" and "OPTIMA SUPER DELUXE" cannot be duplicated at our price ...................................... **$79.95**

(Plus $3.75 Federal tax)
Send for descriptive brochures.

**REMINDER: PETE SEEGER SPECIALS** still available. Buy two 12", one 10" at $10. The Pete Seeger Song Book comes as a bonus. You save $4.20.

# *the* SPECTATOR

## *A luncheon in Paris*

PARIS

THE SKIES WERE A NOVEMBER GRAY on June 2 when 1,000 newspaper men and women from all over the world awaited President Kennedy for his last Paris luncheon and his first press conference.

Because an over-cautious security service had made them come early, they waited for over an hour, seated at their luncheon tables in the festive Palais de Chaillot lobby, with the view of a life-size Eiffel Tower just outside the windows, on the other side of the Seine. And during that hour speculation ran high on what had happened in Paris in the previous 48 hours and what would happen in Vienna in the 48 hours ahead.

Abu, Observer, London

Nothing concrete had leaked out from the official French-U.S. conversations, but Paris was clearly split in two camps.

The right-wing press, ever since Kennedy's first half-hour talk with de Gaulle, had joyously announced intensification of the cold war. To judge by reports in some of these papers, de Gaulle had jumped body and soul on the Adenauer bandwagon on the Berlin question, and Kennedy had found himself in "complete agreement" on Berlin with de Gaulle (hence with Adenauer).

The independent **Le Monde** pointed out that in the time devoted to the Berlin question by the two Presidents, allowing the necessary minutes for introduction, courtesy and translation, there could hardly have been time for more than the most general outline of some vague declarations of intentions.

THE SECOND TREND, abetted by persistent rumors, said a thaw in the cold war was in view. This group reported that a U.S. spokesman had recently discouraged in no uncertain terms West German pretensions to atomic weapons and to spearheading a new cold war offensive. It also asserted that the military and economic winds in the U.S.—or at least the winds to which the new President was most exposed, were veering toward finding an area of agreement, however narrow, with the Soviet Premier.

With the Berlin question suddenly pushed to the forefront again in both the Western and Eastern press, the fact that these two diametrically opposed visions existed showed clearly that in all minds President Kennedy's first European trip was not a mere contact or courtesy visit. It was likely to prove decisive for the international course the new Administration was going to take.

The curiosity and impatience over what the President was going to say in his speech, and how he was going to answer questions, was higher than it usually is on these occasions.

What struck Kennedy's listeners most that day was his moderate tone, his refusal to come out with a sabre-rattling statement on Berlin, as one questioner invited him to do. He spoke also of the U.S. new atomic vulnerability and the necessity of revising old stragetic concepts.

IT WAS NOT SO MUCH these things, however, as the general temperature of the press conference that seemed to open the door ever so slightly to a new easing of East-West tension.

Your correspondent shared her luncheon table with a Dutch woman, a Norwegian, and an elderly Russian who had long lived in France, but had recently visited the Soviet Union. He was expounding the Soviet viewpoint with much conviction.

"How many times did he bring up the 'Free World' stuff?" asked the Russian. "Not more than three or four times—the strict minimum."

"I don't see this man going to war over the question of whether Soviet or East German soldiers will stamp Western entry permits to Berlin in the future," said the Dutch woman.

"I feel that the pro-Adenauer people will not be particularly delighted with him—that is something to be pleased about," said the Norwegian.

"I have tried to look at him with Khrushchev's eyes," said the Russian. "Before this conference, I said to myself: The millionaire and the former peasant aren't made to love each other. Now I feel: This is a man with whom one can talk business. If they will only get down to business . . ."

—**Anne Bauer**

NEW YORK

**FRANK GIARAMITA**
**& SONS TRUCKING CORP.**
MOVING • RELIABLE
EFFICIENT • STORAGE
13 E. 7th St. near 3rd Av GR 7-2457

**JACK R. BRODSKY**
**ANY KIND OF INSURANCE**
auto, fire, burglary, life, annuities, accident, hospitalization, compensation, etc. Phone: GR 5-3826
799 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3. (11th St.)